INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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COMMUNIQUE

ON THE MEETING OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

On the 26th and 27th of December, 1969, the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania met under the presidency of Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, and heard the Report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On the Work of the Organizations of the Party and of the Masses, of the Economic and State organs to Further Increase productivity and Enforce Proletarian Discipline at Work» read by Comrade Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The Plenum discussed the Report at large, approved it unanimously and took the decision concerned.

In winding up the proceedings of the Plenum, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, delivered an important speech.

THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

DECISION

TAKEN BY THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA «ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY AND OF THE MASSES, OF THE ECONOMIC AND STATE ORGANS TO FURTHER INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY OF AND ENFORCE PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK»

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania which met on December 26 & 27, 1969, having heard and discussed at large the Report of the Political Bureau «On the work of the organizations of the Party and of the masses, of the economic and State organs to further increase productivity of and enforce proletarian discipline at work» submitted by comrade Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania,

noted:

As a result of the correct revolutionary line of our Party, and its struggle and efforts to build socialism in the country, the broad masses of workers, in town and the countryside, have scored major successes in fulfilling and over-fulfilling the historical tasks set by the 5th Congress of the Party. Intensive work yielding very good results has been done especially during this year in honor of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution. Important results have been attained especially in these recent years also in the field of socialist organization of work, securing higher yields of and enforcing proletarian discipline at work, all of which have had a direct influence on increasing production and improving socialist relations in our country. Suffice it to say that,

in comparison with 1950, work productivity in industry in 1968 increased 2.2-fold, a factor which accounts for about a 60% increase in production whereas in agriculture, for the same period, the increase of work productivity accounted for $67^{\circ}/_{0}$ of the increase in production. Good results have been attained also in the sectors of building construction, communications etc.

Nevertheless, in analyzing the indices of the socialist organization of work, it turns out that, in many cases, there are shortcomings and discrepancies springing from a superficial political and theoretical understanding and inadequate organization of work, from a one-sided treatment of these problems failing to bring home to the people their ideological and political significance, a thing which has led to the non-fulfilment of the average work productivity in certain branches and has slowed down the rate of production in general. Nor has enough work been done in explaining the orientations and directives of the Party regarding the socialist organization of work, in acquainting the broad masses of workers with the objective economic laws governing them as well as with the consequences

resulting from their correct or incorrect application.

In their work, the organizations of the Party and of the masses as well as our State and economic organs have not always paid due regard to the problems of socialist organization of work. They have not always responded to the readiness and patriotism of our workers through high level managerial and organizational work. Work indices are often not taken up or are taken up only 'pro forma' with the workers without analyzing the causes of this backwardness and without mapping out all-round measures to further improve the situation. Working class control has not yet spread to all these problems and selfcontrol and confrontation is still inadequate. Insufficient work is being done in discovering, working out, summing up and spreading the advanced experience, in relying more forcibly on the positive example and in developing socialist emulation on a higher scale.

In particular, serious drawbacks and shortcomings have been met with in the economic and State organs at the center and at the grass roots often acquiescing, at the planning period, to low estimates of work productivity and demanding swollen contingents of workers not based on a detailed analysis. The correct changes made to the method of plannification taking productivity as the «index of measurement» were interpreted in some cases as if output had lost its original importance. The problems of socialist organization of work, especially as concerns

the proper use of work time, technical quotas and forms of work and of remuneration, have not been properly followed by the Ministries and the Executive Committees of the Regional People's Councils. Not enough work has been done to spread the experience of advanced workers and not enough aid has been extended to the grass roots. Certain State and economic organs have maintained a bureaucratic stand towards these problems.

These shortcomings and defects in our work have brought about a state in which the participation in work is not yet up to the mark; many workers, especially in the countryside, do not engage in useful work for society all the year round; worktime, especially during the 8-hour period, is not fully utilized; work quotas which, in many cases require less effective work, are, nevertheless, not fulfilled by all the workers; technical norms these last 3 or 4 years have almost marked time; there have been some discrepancies in establishing collective quotas of work and manifestations of equalizing payments; no studies are conducted in standardizing and raising work quotas in various branches. Little has been done to raise the level of mechanization in technological processes. The machinery and equipment in use today are not yet being everywhere utilized to their full capacity during worktime. The labor force is not reckoned on the basis of an all-round study of the analytic, moral and technological factors, balance of work time, and so on.

In view of the above state of affairs as well as the major tasks in the field of intensifying our economy in the days to come, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of

Labor of Albania,

Decided:

I. — To further intensify political and ideological work for a more thorough understanding and broader assessment of the indices of work

1) The organizations of the Party and of the masses and the State and economic organs are called upon to engage in a more intensive political and ideological work and to take the necessary organizational measures to explain to the laboring masses that the uninterrupted increase of work productivity, as an economic law of socialism, is closely connected with the increase of production and socialist accumulation and constitutes one of the most important factors to constantly improve their material well-being and cultural level.

At the same time, they should continually explain to the workers, politically and theoretically and in a well organized way, that the rapid increase of work productivity and the enforcement of proletarian discipline at work under the actual conditions, are dictated also by a series of important factors:

— The intensive development of our economy, the important objectives of the future as well as the setting up of major projects require a further increase of the funds of accumulation which cannot be secured without a rapid increase of work productivity, a thing which we should bear in mind in our planning.

— The need for more workers should be met with mainly from the towns, drawing as few of them from the countryside

as possible.

— The rapid expansion in the future of the network of services, social and cultural services included, as well as the further revolutionization of our schools. A greater number of workers will engage in such activities, therefore, to make up for these workers who engage in non-productive occupations, it becomes necessary to further increase work productivity in the field of material production as well as in that of non-productive occupations.

— The defects and shortcomings met with in the field of socialist organization of work and, especially, the low rate of output in certain branches of economy both in industry and in

agriculture.

2) The propaganda work of our Party is called upon to make clear the close links and contradictions which exist, on the one hand, between the uninterrupted uplift of the material and cultural level of the masses, through the uninterrupted rise of work productivity, through the continuous reduction of prices etc.; and, on the other, between the tendency to maintain low work quotas and excessive work forces, a thing which is at variance with 'the principles of our economic development according to which work productivity should increase at a speedier rate than the funds of payments.

The problems of socialist organization of work as economic notions and categories, have their objective laws of development. Creating ideological convictions, strengthening the revolutionary sense of duty and forming a new Marxist-Leninist materialist world-outlook on these problems are closely associated with a knowledge of these laws. Workers, technicians, engineers, economists and other cadres should all take a hand in the work of explaining the economic laws of socialism, using various forms

of work for this purpose.

3) The organs of the Party and of the State at every center of work and production should intensify worker's control on the problems dealing with the socialist organization of work combining this control with those of the Party and State. The working class as a hegemonous one should take the lead in striving to temper proletarian consciousness by intensifying and extending its control against a lenient, indifferent and passive attitude, against disorders in work, breach of proletarian discipline, and so on. It should be brought home to all that discipline at work cannot be improved if, side by side political work. there is not established a strict and all-round control. The working class and the cooperative peasantry themselves should see to it that working time is used in full and with maximum efficiency. If we do not take a correct grasp of the value of worktime, we cannot pretend to have grasped many other problems of our socialist construction. In this respect, the trade union organizations under the guidance of those of the Party should encourage self-control and confrontation on the basis of the motto «self-criticism, criticism, correction and tempering of socialist consciousness».

4) The organizations of the Party and of the masses and the State organs are called upon to raise to a higher level socialist emulation through the wide use of mass actions on a single target. They should show more concern about discovering, working out, summing up and spreading at once the experience of the best. They should fight the tendency noticed in certain cases of disregarding advanced experience, of attaching little value to «the little» experience met with in every squad, brigade, shift and sector in search of «bigger» things, and they should cultivate among people the proletarian candor of learning from one another, of intensifying collaboration and mutual aid among workers, among various units of production and districts, considering the adoption of advanced experience as an effective and important saving of worktime.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania and other organizations of the masses should work out the experience gained so far so that socialist emulation may be raised to a higher level in the days to come and, following the brilliant example set by the Dibra district, to set afoot a new wave of revolutionary mass actions at a single target in industry, in agriculture, in building construction, in communications and other sectors as well as to give all-round support to the revolutionary movement to win the title of «the shock brigade, department, sector,

enterprise and cooperative of the 4th five-year plan».

II. — Let us always make more efficient and greater use of worktime by establishing sound proletarian discipline everywhere

1) The Party organizations, the State economic organs and the organizations of the masses are called upon to consider the broad participation of workers at work, especially in the countryside where there are more reserves and a wider range of work fronts, as one of the main fields to raise work productivity. In their efforts to secure as wide participation in work as possible, the Party organizations and the administration of collective farms in rural areas should see to it that all the able-bodied people are not only engaged in uninterrupted work but that they follow the good example set by many collective farms which have already realized an average quota of 300 workdays a year by every able-bodied member. They should aim at making each member turn out not less than the quota of work each day of the calendar. In order to achieve this, it is necessary, among others, to attach special importance to building as many projects for social and cultural purposes in the countryside as possible, such as, kindergartens, creches, public laundry houses, bakeries etc., so that as many women as possible may be freed from house chores in order to engage in production work like their menfolk. On the other hand, all-round concern should be devoted to the work of reducing to the minimum the seasonal character of production, especially in the sector of agriculture, by establishing cooperation between farming, animal husbandry and horticulture and by developing auxiliary activities and processing farm and dairy products in collective farms.

In urban areas, in addition to fighting against unexcused absences from work through self and working class control, we should work out plans of opening new work fronts by encouraging further initiatives to set up new lines and factories as well as to create the conviction among workers that, wherever they work, they are serving socialist construction both in their town or district as well as in any other work center where the

need may arise for them to work.

2) The whole Party, the State and economic organs, the organizations of the masses and the workers in town and in the countryside themselves should take the necessary steps to establish everywhere a proletarian iron discipline at work, to make full use of worktime within the shift or day's work, considering this as one of the most important factors in raising work productivity. We must explain this importance theoretically

and practically to every worker so that conscious proletarian discipline may become a habit in every worker's life. In order to turn worktime into «gold» as the saying of the people has it, it is essential to avoid loss of time without justification, to avoid coming late to work, leaving before time is up and other unnecessary movements from place to place. During worktime, each worker should put all his physical and mental energies into the job and, at the same time, steps should be taken to avoid any lack of raw materials, tools and instruments. This requires better working class control not only over the administration but also over one another among the ranks of workers themselves.

State and economic organs at the center and at the grass roots should take the necessary steps in the field of organizing production, and supplying materials and technique. They should secure the raw and other materials planned for both in quantity, quality and in due time by establishing strict discipline in fulfilling contracts of supplies, transportations; they should provide in due time both tools, means of work and designs and map out the worksites where these projects will be built. Every enterprise is to be held responsible for the fulfilment of contracts just as for the fulfilment of planned targets both in quantity, quality and category. Special importance should be attached also to the preservation and gradual increase of reserves of materials as pointed out by the Party and Government.

The Central Economic Departments as well as the State and economic organs in enterprises and cooperative farms should study and take the necessary steps so that, beginning with 1970, they should lower temporary disability at work below plan, by further improving the technical, hygienic and sanitary conditions of work, especially in those work centers where the influence of atmospheric condition and the nature of production bring about dangerous consequences to the health of the workers

and cause accidents.

III. - Amplify and Further Improve Work Quotas

1) The Party, State organs and mass organizations should devote more attention to amplifying and improving the work quotas which constitute the basis of a correct and scientific organization of work and the increase of its social output. Extensive political and organizational work should be done to bring home to every worker, that work quotas are an absolute

necessity, that they must become a matter of habit for each worker and cooperative member, that there is no sense working without technically well established and supervised work quotas. Put an end to the empiric practice which often takes place in studying and establishing quotas proceeding from the average results attained alone. The new quotas should always be the result of an all-round assessment of the availabilities and resources which exist, taking into account the maximum use of worktime, of the means of production, of the technical level of production and reckoning on the basis of the most advanced results attained in all directions.

Special concern should be shown to the fulfilment of work quotas by every worker. At present, over $14^0/_0$ of the workers fail to materialize their work quotas, and here lies a major reserve for raising production and work productivity. The Party organizations, the State and economic organs at the center and at the grass roots as well as the organizations of the masses are called upon to make a detailed study, discover the causes for and take steps of a political, ideological, economic, technical and organizational character so as to overcome the discrepancies which exist in the accomplishment of quotas in as short a time as possible.

2) The technical establishment of work quotas by the State economic organs at the center and at the grass roots and by the organizations of the Party and of the masses should be considered as one of the most important tasks in the field of setting work quotas and, during 1970, a serious turning point should be made in this respect to be further intensified in a programatic way during the coming years. In setting technical work quotas one should keep in mind, among others, the following criteria:

Firstly, an efficient use of worktime by workers on the

basis of strict proletarian discipline at work.

Secondly, a correct distribution of people to work centers conformable to their qualifications and each to be fully occupied with his job.

Thirdly, full and efficient use of machines and other work means and a strict application of the scientific laws of production.

Fourthly, regular supply of materials and technique.

Fifthly, timely adaptation of changes that result from the introduction of advanced technique and technology, from further mechanization of work processes and from better organization of production.

2) Intensify the work of standardizing work quotas among enterprises of the same branch having more or less equal con-

ditions of work. The Ministries and the Executive Committees of the District People's Councils in collaboration with the enterprises and cooperatives concerned should take steps in studying and unifying work quotas within 1970 on the basis of the average progressive results attained within the branch and then, time and again, to re-examine these quotas conformable with the results achieved. Work quotas in cooperative farms should take their clue from the work quotas established in State-run farms and, in this direction, they should back and adopt the initiative of those agricultural cooperatives having similar conditions and applying the work quotas of the State-run farms.

4) The attention and concern of the laboring masses themselves should be drawn to the problems dealing with the setting of work quotas so that they themselves may look into the requirements of these quotas in their centers of work and production and make the necessary corrections based on the concrete conditions and the full use of worktime. In the same way, the leading cadres of production, the engineers, technicians, economists and various other specialists should consider the fixing of work quotas as one of their main tasks, helping to designate the requirements which work quotas should cover and to train

accountants to perform their important job better.

5) The Party organizations, State and economic organs should attach special importance to the forms of socialist organization of work compatible with the concrete conditions of production. They should continually keep in mind that all the 4 forms of socialist organization of work, that is, individual quotas, collective quotas, piecework and timework, may exist ranging from the technological process of the main production to the auxiliary departments. Special attention should be attached to promoting work on the basis of collective quotas which helps educate the workers in the spirit of solidarity, mutual aid and proletarian discipline and brings about good results in raising work productivity and improving quality. But passing over from individual to collective quotas should always be done in full agreement with the directives issued on this matter, that is, when the objective and subjective conditions for such a move exist or have been created.

IV. — More Extensive and Persistent Work should be Done to Introduce Mechanization and Further Deepen Technological Progress Relying on Our Own Efforts and Availabilities

1) Spread the movement to mechanize the processes of work and production by beginning from the simplest to the more complex and turn this movement into a concrete mass action for all workers' collectives. The Party organizations as well as the State and economic organs are called upon to encourage and lead the tangible study in the field of mechanization, to outline the immediate and perspective objectives of mechanization and introduce the new technique, securing their speedy application based on the specific material conditions and availabilities which the collective of the enterprise, district or economy have at their disposal. Wherever possibilities exist, the enterprises should set up groups of capable workers and technicians, in or out of employement, whose main task would be to handle problems of mechanization and technological improvements. An important role in this direction should be played by the Ministries and the Executive Committees of the Regional People's Councils which should not only encourage concrete acts but also give substantial aid to the study and application of the experience and results attained as well as secure the material basis planned for and provide technical aid to carry them out through cooperation.

2) The Party organizations and their levers should engage in more extensive ideological and political work in order to combat regressive concepts and ideas of certain workers in matters of mechanization and technological improvements arising from the daily routine of work, from handicraft trends in production, from the fear of losing «cozy corners» or of «jeopardizing fulfilment of plan», from a lack of confidence in the ability of

the young cadres and workers, and so on.

3) In order to raise work productivity through mechanization and technological improvements of production, the economic and State organs, relying on the creative genius of the broad masses of workers should take better advantage than sofar of the ways to establish chain processes, uninterrupted processes, partial and total reconstructions, securing in this way better efficiency in raising output at lower costs and in shorter time. For this they should undertake substantial studies and draw very exact technical and economic calculations which they should reflect in their periodic economic plans now and in the days to come.

4) In the various branches of our economy the struggle for mechanization and technological improvement should have

these objectives:

a) In industrial production — in the mining sector, the objective should be to mechanize at the broadest level possible the processes of extracting and transporting chromium, copper, ferronickel, coal and other ores; in the petroleum and geological research sector, a decisive turning point should be effected so as to step up drilling both for exploration and exploitation while shortening in a radical way the time for dismounting,

transporting and mounting drills.

In the machine-making industry, the objective should be to keep raising the coefficient of utilization of machine and shifts above the present level while stepping up the cutting of metals, the use of more sophisticated aggregates, the mechanization of internal transport and a perceptible lowering of auxiliary time. By extending to a higher degree cooperation on a national scale we should step up the production in the country of spare parts for all the branches of our economy and proceed at a faster rate towards turning out machinery and equipment to meet the needs of our economy, especially in the countryside. In the field of cooperation, the Ministry of Industry and Mining, in collaboration with other Ministries, should take immediate steps to eliminate all the major shortcomings and voids existing in its plans as well as to establish more strict rules binding for all with regard to contracts and guarantees required for finished products. In addition, the Ministries concerned should give a definite solution to the problem of repairing the machinery, motor vehicles and equipment at the disposal of the cooperative farms, the inventories of which are expanding from day to day.

In the woodworking industry, the felling and transportation of lumber from the forests should be extensively mechanized by the end of the coming five-year plan period, while in processing timber the objective should be to adopt the chain processes and typify products in order to increase in a decisive

way the output in the days to come.

In the building material, light and food-processing industries, the main objective in the field of mechanization should be the process of transporting, selecting and manipulating the raw and auxiliary materials as well as the packing and internal transport, aiming at mechanizing these processes in extenso.

b) In agriculture, special importance should be attached to the use of simple hand tools as well as those drawn by draft animals. At every collective farm, the objective should be to mechanize as widely as possible the processes of broadcasting seeds and spreading manure, of winnowing grain, cultivating, reaping, shucking corn, and a number of dairying processes. We should aim at introducing mechanization in sowing and reaping to as large a number of field crops as possible and, first and foremost, of food grains, and we should work towards

mechanizing the process of cleaning big canals. Taking into account the seasonal use of a number of agricultural equipments and machinery, the attention of our agricultural mechanics should be concentrated on adjusting them for use in two or more work operations in order to make as full use of their capacity as possible. The Ministry of Agriculture should take immediate steps to work out a schedule for all agricultural machines and appliances so that they may be at work all year round. Viewing agriculture as the concern of all of us, the State economic enterprises, the departments of economy as well as the Executive Committees of the District People's Councils have an endless domain of rendering concrete aid to the solution of a number of problems connected particularly with the further intensification of agriculture and increase of work productivity through mechanization. Therefore, all work and production centers in the districts and the Ministries concerned should strive to take up for study and resolve a series of problems of mechanization in agriculture and, through making use of their latent resources, give a larger aid to the collective farms, especially to the cooperatives in the uplands where the introduction of heavy agricultural machines is harder and their output is lower. This aid should aim first of all at repairing in time all the mechanisms and equipment earmarked for the countryside as well as at producing new equipment for them both for agricultural and dairy production as well as for social and cultural purposes.

c) In building construction, all efforts should be exerted to bring about within a few years the complete mechanization of the processes of amassing sand and gravel, of quarrying stone and of burning lime at the principal building sites. We should aim at the same time at mechanizing all the digging and transportation of earth, mixing concrete and mortar, preparing and transporting pre-fabricated elements, plastering and whitewashing. Step up the production and use of prefabricated elements in industrial projects, dwelling houses, social and cultural buildings and in works of art on highways, railroads, draining and irrigation projects so that, through home produced prefabricates and mechanization, this sector can accomplish its major tasks.

playing a decisive role in setting up projects and increasing work productivity as well as to accomplish with efficiency the task set by the 5th Congress of the Party to turn our building sites into sites of installations.

d) In communications, mechanization should aim at speeding up loading and unloading with fewer workhands as well as at establishing chain-lines for overhauling and keeping in good repair the means of transportation. Special attention should be devoted to mechanizing and manipulating cargoes at seaports, railroad and motor vehicle stations which are still employing many workhands. A decisive turning point should be effected in this regard during the 1970-1971 period.

e) In State and economic administration, wide-scale mechanization should be introduced in accounting, statistics etc.

involving a voluminous work of calculation.

5) The Party and State organs as well as the organizations of the masses are called upon to intensify and extend their work of raising the ideological, political, technological and vocational level of the broad masses of workers so that they may better respond to the tasks of increasing output and technological progress of our country. See to it that the contingent of students attending schools and courses today pass through them to the end and that participation in them may be stepped up in the days to come. Special attention should be devoted to young workers and to the training of the necessary cadres and specialists for the new projects under construction. At the same time, every enterprise should aim at making the average personal categories of its workers to correspond to the average category of the place of work in as short a time as possible.

* * *

While assessing aright the indispensability of further increasing output and establishing proletarian discipline at work, in addition to imparting a more thorough ideological and political significance to them, making them first and foremost the concern of the laboring masses themselves, the Party organizations and organs should exert more efforts and see to it that these problems should be considered at present of major importance everywhere. They should intensify their control over the State and economic organs so as to effect a radical improvement in their method of dealing with these problems, assessing aright and taking all the measures of a political, technological and

organizational character so as to carry out the major tasks set by the Party in this important field of our activity in as short a period of time as possible.

The organs and organizations of the Party, those of the masses as well the State and economic organs should look for new and more effective forms to improve the socialist organization of work, to raise output and enforce proletarian discipline compatible with the revolutionary situations we are passing through. While arousing the masses, they should at once grasp the revolutionary new, sum it up and further develop it with lightning speed. Great attention should be attached to details in organization ranging from the work center of each worker to the fulfilment as well as possible of the normal work conditions and its means and objectives.

During 1970, the Council of Ministers, on the basis of experiments and consultations under way, should examine the steps to be taken to further improve the methodology of planning work indices and of calculating the output in all the branches of economy including the agricultural cooperative sector.

1969 marked new achievements in economy and culture as well as in further raising the living standards of the laboring masses. Our socialist Homeland became stronger and well prepared to frustrate, as always, the hostile intentions of the U.S. imperialists, modern Soviet revisionists and their collaborators towards our country.

Further and greater tasks are set for us by the 1970 plan of the last year of the 4th five-year period, requiring an all-round mobilization of all our moral and material forces to wind it up with success. This will mark, at the same time, the successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the 4th five-year plan laying a sound basis for the beginning and accomplishment of the new major tasks which our Party will set for us for the coming five-year period. The discussion of the problems which this Plenum raises should turn into an important factor and materialize in the successful accomplishment of the tasks envisaged in the 1970 plan. At the same time, strict discipline should be established in preventing waste, in using raw and deficient materials, sparingly allowing in no way the spending of safety reserves in order to over-fulfil plans.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania expresses its conviction that the tasks it sets in the field of raising output, improving socialist organization of and enforcing proletarian discipline at work will be rightly understood by the broad masses of workers in town and in the countryside and that the latter will put all their efforts and energies to fulfil these tasks to the letter in the high sense of duty and militant spirit which characterizes them.

THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Tirana December 27, 1969.

ENVER HOXHA

ON WORK PRODUCTIVITY AND PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK

 Speech delivered at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania

For our Party and people, 1970, the last year of the 4th five-year plan period, should be a year of an unprecedented revolutionary drive ever seen so far in all directions. At this Plenum of the Central Committee we have analyzed the work we have done sofar, criticizing the shortcomings, errors and voids we have incurred, and we have set down new tasks for the days to come. The complete accomplishment of these tasks will further strengthen our work, helping us to achieve better ultimate results during the current five-year period and setting up a more powerful basis for the coming five-year period.

The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee submitted at this Plenum by comrade Xhafer Spahiu treats matters in a correct and very clear way. It points out well both the successes we have attained sofar, which are not insignificant, but also where the weaknesses lie in the work and struggle we are waging to increase work productivity and enforce proletarian

discipline at work.

Work productivity, viewed from the angle of revolutionary theory and practice, is neither a simple nor a merely technical or bureaucratic problem but one closely enmeshed, like every other problem of socialist political economy, with theory, policy, technique, organization and a series of other problems that emerge from them. Therefore, both the Report of the Political Bureau and the numerous discussions of the comrades placed this problem in its proper perspective, resolved many of its aspects, imparted to it more vivacity and animation and, by subjecting our work to a concrete critical analysis, they drew lessons and set new tasks which will help us carry further ahead the development of our socialist economy.

Taking up the materials of this Plenum with the Party and the people should mark a further and greater turning point in our revolutionary drive to forge ahead. The communists, workers, cooperative members and all the employees should study the report and delve deep into it adapting it to the concrete

problems of the sector where they work and strive.

Perusal of the tasks and decisions which this Plenum will be taking are of major importance not that these problems have not been treated before, not that they are unknown problems, but because the analysis made shows that, despite the good results they have achieved at work, our people have, at the same time, incurred errors, lapses and have allowed serious leniencies throughout their activity. The source of all these negative phenomena lies at the superficial political and theoretical understanding of this problem and at the not-everywhere-

good and perfect organization of work.

In the fight against these shortcomings and errors and efforts to find their origin, the Party is really optimistic because the communists and the broad masses of workers are well prepared to fight and are actually fighting everywhere in a revolutionary way. But, I think, we have not yet done enough in these two directions to match the high and vigorous revolutionary spirit of the communists and the masses. Therefore, it behooves us to further improve our work, to raise to a higher level the revolutionary style both in political and ideological as well as economic and organizational education. Where our work proceeds in this spirit, our revolutionary spiritual and material achievements are marvellous. Where the contrary happens, that is, where drawbacks, disorganization, excuses, «theorizing» and the like prevail, there is and there can be no adequate achievements.

Which are the predominant trends among us? We can say in unequivocal terms that pronounced revolutionary trends hold sway everywhere in our country. It is precisely in these major revolutionary movements of the masses who undertake bold initiatives never met with at any time that I think our Party should look for the right organizational forms which conform to these extraordinary times we are passing through,

when established structures and norms are being pulled down and the new is continually replacing the old. While arousing the masses, our Party should at once grasp what is new, sum it up and develop it further with lightning speed. It should be brought home to everybody that all the people our Party has carefully educated and inspired in such a lofty way, in their creative drive, will not tolerate worthless people and their old cumbersome forms and methods of work. The latter will be swept away by the hurricane of revolution in case they fail to follow this rapid development led by the Party. This is a dialectic law which can not be overridden.

The people of our country have now rolled up their sleeves and are busy putting up major projects. Other and greater projects lie ahead for them in the days to come. It is we ourselves who will build them. But in our country everybody, old and young, knows that the building of such major projects requires large investments, considerable funds which planned socialist accumulation creates for them. Where all these funds will come from we know; they will come from our sweat and toil. But it should be clear and well understood by all that it is necessary to save for the uninterrupted development of the productive forces in the country and, at the same time, to raise the living standards of our people. And in order to substantiate these major goals of our Party, it is essential to continually raise work productivity, to raise output of production, to increase accumulation, to lower costs and prices everywhere. All these problems of our socialist economy should continually be explained and made clear politically and theoretically to our workers.

Having done this, what is decisive is to organize concretely and in practice the work and struggle to realize these directives and tasks and to achieve these results. It is precisely in carrying out these directives that we come up against serious handicaps which, I think, are the result especially of defective organizational work. For instance, we lag behind in organizing our theoretical and organizational work so that the struggle to make quotas a habit of each worker may achieve full success, so that the enforcement of proletarian discipline and sense of duty may become the main concern of all our people both in theory and in practice, so that giving our society as much, as good and as cheap as possible may inspire each one of our workers.

Of course everywhere, in every enterprise where work is done, we should enforce organization, order and strict discipline at work. In order to achieve this, it is essential to strive continuously to raise the class consciousness of our workers. Both

the central organs and the leading organs at the grass roots bear great responsibility for many problems which they do not solve aright, which obstruct and procrastinate their solution properly and in due time. For instance, taking into account that the structure of our industrial production is being expanded, if we fail to react and take the necessary steps in due time. productivity will decrease instead of increasing, as has actually happened in certain cases these recent two or three years; or if we continue to keep certain parallel enterprises which are unprofitable and not very essential from the economic viewpoint at a time when their production can be replaced in some other way at lower costs; or, let us take the problem of work productivity in agriculture which is much lower than in industry, a problem to which we should attach major importance from the organizational and educational point of view, since it is not properly dealt with by the central organs as well as by the Regional Party Committees. There are a number of other problems similar to the ones I have mentioned.

We are justified in calling to account the Ministries for certain key-problems, because they have misused the $2^0/_0$ increase of work force left to their competence, falling, thus, to the opportunist positions of leniency by certain enterprises which have not done enough to enforce discipline at work, which do not attach much value to worktime, which fail to do their uttermost to avoid loss of time at work, and so on. Consequently, our economic departments fail to take all steps to follow up and supervise the strict application of work quotas and the establishment of technical norms but, in its place, find it easier to use the more costly and antieconomic method of using the $2^0/_0$ and swelling the payroll. Gestures of this kind are anti-economic and they show that some of our cadres are not yet enlightened politically and ideologically.

We should really sound the alarm when we note that 30% of the number of workers of our economic enterprises as well as all the workers of the agricultural sector do not respond to the serious requirements of raising work productivity. How can we allow ourselves a situation of this kind? No, comrades, we should in no way follow this course but exert all our efforts at once to find the appropriate forms and methods to plan work

quotas for all without exception.

We rightly pose the question: When treating problems connected with maximum use of worktime and enforcement of proletarian discipline, do the Party and Trade Union organizations at all those work centers and agricultural cooperatives

where these discrepancies appear speak only theoretically or in general terms or do they connect these problems with the actual events that take place during work and affect personal and general interests? Do they stress individual defects in order to draw general conclusions? Do they thus try to correct individual in order to avoid collective mistakes? It seems to me that this method of approach is important to all phases of the development and tempering of the revolutionary awareness of our

people especially under the present conditions.

In order to uplift and temper the revolutionary consciousness of our workers, primary importance should be attached to our political and ideological work. This is the ABC of the question. But in no way should organizational and technical measures be neglected, since they are the materialization of political orientations helping realize the political tasks, confirming in practice the line and correctness of our Party's policy. These organizational and technical measures themselves, taken well and in time, confirm that maturity, that capability, that correct significance of the problem, that strict proletarian discipline which help accomplish these tasks. Therefore, these steps also involve proletarian policy and ideology and, on the contrary, when these are neglected and opportunism is resorted to, then

we have non-proletarian ideology.

It seems to me that proletarian discipline demand all workers wherever they are (and this must be kept well in mind and proclaimed in an ostensible way) that the laws established by the proletarian State regarding the workday and the regulations related to it should be strictly observed. This matter should be grasped in all its complexity. Going to work at the appointed hour, starting work after having taken all the necessary organizational measures and having secured the materials and all the necessary means for work beforehand so that nothing and at no moment may the worker be hampered in each process of work during the 8-hour timetable — all these are permanent tasks which should be strictly carried out every day by every worker. During worktime all nerves should be tense. Except for strong reasons, no one should quit his job. We should educate our people ideologically to maintain proletarian iron discipline at work teaching them, at the same time, what this discipline is, how it is to be understood and put into practice. Proletarian discipline at work should be injected into the blood of our workers since they are still far from having grasped its importance in theory and from putting it into practice as they should.

These matters should be proclaimed far and wide and should be driven home to all, first and foremost, to the heads of the departments themselves who direct the enterprises or have obligations towards them. These tasks should be fulfilled in an absolute manner and at the appointed time, otherwise the chain breaks up and then begin concessions, excuses, vain self-criticism of little benefit. Proletarian discipline should be strictly observed by all, by the leaders and the workers without exception.

In agriculture too, things will not go well only by being satisfied with the realization in figures of the percentage of participation of cooperative members in work, as they like to report to us at times, therefore, we should see on the spot how many workdays each cooperative member puts in, how he uses his worktime, how he fills the work quota and what he turns out. If we fail to view this question in all its complexity and fight to raise all its components then it is futile to speak of raising work productivity at work, in crops, in lowering costs and raising the well-being of the laboring masses in town and the countryside.

While speaking of these problems we should always bear well in mind that the majority of the population of the country live in rural areas, therefore one can well imagine what colossal unutilized economic resources lie latent there so long as participation in work continues to be at a low level, when workdays are short, when the cooperative members in some cases put only 4 or 5 hours of work a day, especially in winter, and when work

productivity is not taken stock of.

Of course, the solution of this great problem for the countryside is not as easy to organize as in factories but it can still be organized. The question is to think up and take steps so that work in the countryside may be done all the year round, in all seasons, with the same intensity as required by farm crops and animal husbandry, both the existing and those which must be created. Therefore, the political and ideological work there should be done intensively and in full but the organizational work should also receive special attention as regards the nature of agriculture with its ups and downs caused by subjective as well as objective reasons like the fall and winter seasons without the study of which and the creation of appropriate working conditions no forces of the countryside can be fully utilized.

Work quotas are absolutely necessary everywhere, in every sector, for otherwise it would be futile to speak of work productivity, of raising it and of reaching the other objectives set by plan. Even in those few and special sectors where work quotas cannot be established, this should be considered as something transitory and not a method of work. Quotas should not only be established but we should reach a point at which our worker, the worker of a socialist country, may not conceive the idea of working without quotas, without wishing to over-reach them and demand that new ones based on technical ground be established since only then can we say that he has grasped the political, ideological and economic importance of work quotas both to the general as well as to his personal interests.

The establishment of technically correct quotas will mean that the value of the time factor has been grasped by the workers, that the latter have acquired better knowledge and that their personal skills have undergone improvement. Consequently, the worker becomes cognizant of the role of the machine he uses, makes better use of and keeps it in good repair and, by handling it well and having a good grasp of the methodology of the plan, will not only over-reach the plan targets but will turn out from his hands and his machine products of better

quality and at a lower cost.

The problem of quotas, of establishing them on correct criteria, of improving them from time to time and of fulfilling them to the letter, of considering machines as an important means of production, of keeping them in good repair and utilizing them to the full, of rigid discipline at work and, as a consequence, fulfilling every minute of the work timetable by each worker and machine, of the good organization of work at the enterprise paying heed especially to the small organizational unit which is not always done, a thing which leads to loss of time, costing us a lot of effort, disrupting the general organization which we may have done well — all these seem like separate problems but they are parts of one single problem the correct solution of which requires the full concern of all, ranging from the director to the gate-keeper of the enterprise.

Individual responsibilities and tasks among us cannot be carried out apart from collective responsibility. Of course, each is and should be held responsible for the tasks he has been assigned to, therefore he should exert all his efforts to carry them out well and render account for them, but collective responsibility exists everywhere. This means that fellow workers share also in the responsibility of each worker and should help him by intervening in due time when he fails to carry out his job properly and thus collaborate with him in a concrete way.

The question of work quotas is of a general, collective but of an individual character as well, it is the concern of the worker himself and also of all the workers as a group. It is the concern of the recorder, too. But we are told that «in a majority of cases neither the directors nor the engineers» bother about work quotas. This is a colossal mistake, for if this is really the case, and I do not think that this happens every time, it means that our leading cadres fail to grasp the ideology of the Party and do not conduct its policy aright in and out of the factory.

Pay great attention to the small organizational unit I just referred to, for it is there that discipline at work is established which, if neglected, might lead to loose discipline, it is there that worktime is gained or lost, the work quotas are fulfilled or not, the machines are kept in good repair or not, the products are turned out in a good quality or not. This is where work is done, where perspiration is shed, where the anvil lies, where steel is tempered. Therefore it is here that we should concentrate our attention, carry on our political and ideological work, it is here that good organization is shown and verified, it is here more than anywhere else that we get to know the class people,

the class discipline and the class sense of duty.

A great example of perfect organization of work has been set by the December 14 mass action of the Dibra Party organization and people who dug a canal 17 km long in one day's work. This lightning mass action reflects in the best way the ability of the Party organization of this district to organize and lead, to apply the directives of the Party properly and to enforce conscious revolutionary discipline at work. The whole Party, all the State organs and the organizations of the masses in industry, agriculture, building construction etc., should learn and draw tasks from this brilliant example. From this concentrated mass action we should draw lessons on how raise and discuss problems, on how to take and apply decisions and follow them up to completion.

In general mass actions are not only of mere material economic importance but more so of political and ideological significance for they strengthen among our masses the spirit of solidarity and collectivism, enhance ardent socialist patriotism, arouse in them the spirit of relying on their physical and moral efforts to set up major common projects for strengthening the country and making the people happy, they enforce conscious revolutionary discipline and confidence in the correct, steel-like leadership of the Party, further revolutionizing the minds of our men and discarding the survival of the past and such rot as

bureaucratism, petty bourgeois conservatism, religious remnants, backward customs, and so on. Let the experience of the communists and of all the workers of the Dibra district serve as a great lesson for the Party and workers of our country as a whole.

Inspired by the example set by the Dibra district, the organizations of the Party and our people as a whole have recently been gripped by a chain of reaction with their enterprises undertaking a series of important mass actions. One of these mass actions is that of the 26 thousand cooperative members and workers of the city and district of Tirana who, in a spirit of exemplary enthusiasm and mobilization, dug 22 kilometers of canals in 4 or 5 hours.

Another high example deserving praise is that of the workers of the State Enterprise of motor vehicle repairs in Tirana who, thanks to their correct political and ideological assessment of their tasks and of their revolutionary determination, succeeded in assembling 49 trailers in the course of one day, a piece of work which under ordinary conditions they had planned to accomplish during the first three-month period of the coming year.

The spark set off in the Dibra district is now spreading like an unrestrainable conflagration throughout the country where the chain of mass actions keeps growing from day to day. We are all witnesses of an unparalleled rise of the masses of tens of thousands of persons prepared to accomplish every task the Party assigns to them in a highly militant spirit and unprecedented determination. This is the way that our workers, peasants, women, youth and people's intelligentsia and armymen have responded to the Party's call for major mass actions all over Albania.

There is no doubt that this wave of mass actions will continue to rise higher and higher and will turn to a big new movement which will lead to the building, further progress and strengthening at a further and higher rate of our socialist Homeland. This unprecedented rise of the laboring masses, their great willingness, this fiery patriotism and uncurbed determination are the fruits of the great and persistent educational work of the Party.

But the Party everywhere, at the center, in the districts and as far down as the grass roots should bear well in mind to always match the readiness and patriotism of our workers for useful and fruitful work to build socialism and strengthen the defensive capacity of our Homeland with high level work of leadership and organization. In all these major mass actions it is essential

to prevent with rigidity any disorder or confusion which may be caused by failing to take full organizational measures in due time or by amassing a larger number of people than necessary. Therefore, it should be well calculated to draw as many volunteers to mass actions as necessary and no more. In no way and under no circumstances should the Party tolerate that, for lack of care and good organization of work, the readiness of our people should be played with and the correct line of the Party be exposed to suspicion by the workers in these mass actions.

Side by side with this, a stop should be put to the tendency of making a lot of noise and advertising for the purpose of showing off rather than bending to work. Our mass actions should always be characterized by few words and much work,

as the people have it.

We are convinced that, along correct Party lines, the laboring masses, so willing and enthusiastic to carry out every task, will muster all their efforts also to realize this important problem we have raised at this Plenum, to further increase work productivity. Our conviction that our workers will fully realize the decisions we will be taking is unshakable, for our Party has already rejuvenated our men, has transformed their consciousness and has even inserted young blood to our old people.

Here is what 90-year old Abaz Hoxha from the village of Zgërbonja in the Berat district writes, among others, in his letter

he has recently sent to me:

«I am 90 years old and remember that our country used to be oppressed by the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie who were in power. They oppressed and tortured us extorting from us that little we had at the point of the bayonet and leaving us in dire need whereas today, thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, we live free and happy stepping up our efforts to build our Fatherland. Today we do not work for feudal lords and large estate owners but for ourselves, for the prosperity of our country.»

«Allow me», Abaz Hoxha continues, «to draw some comparisons with the past when for whole days in rain, snow and mud, we used to set out from Zgërbonja leading a donkey to Vlora to buy a small quantity of salt. When we went to market to buy corn, we paid the price set by the seller who sold it in one lump. Thus we have had a hard time while today we have everything we need next door. May the Party live as long as the mountains of the world for having created innumerable goods for our people during the last 25 years following liberation! There is one thing alone that I regret, that is that

I have grown old and will not be able to enjoy the improvements

that will be brought about in the days to come.»

"How happy and gay are the people going together to work singing since they know what they are working for. I myself cannot work but when I see people going together to their jobs under the leadership of the Party, I feel elated and say to myself: 'What a pity that I cannot go to work with them to build the country up under the guidance of the Party!'. All these achievements are a deadly bullet fired at our enemies and modern revisionists, who see our country as a thorn in their flesh. But we say boo to them! We dare them to encroach upon our country and they will see what comes to them. One could never imagine that Albania would be supplied with electricity, that thousands of shops and schools would be opened in rural areas, that the countryside would be linked with the cities by motor highways, that motor vehicles and tractors would come to the countryside and that many other marvels which history has never recorded would have taken place in our country. People used to go to Salonica in search of jobs whereas now there is plenty of work for them in the country. What a pity I cannot become a youngster again! »

This is what 90-year old Uncle Abaz writes from a remote village in the Berat uplands. In a simple way this letter contains a great philosophy, the philosophy of our Party. This shows that the source of socialist humanism in our country lies in the attitude of the man who creates through work and not in «spiritual existence» as used to be thought of before. It is a humanism flagrantly opposed to the Christian pseudo-humanism preached by the Roman prelate or that kind of «humanism» of the modern barbarians who kill and enslave people.

In our country, socialist humanism is becoming more and more of a mass phenomenon. The deep love of man for the worker is the main characteristic in our socialist society. In our country, all the energy each one expends in common social work has its only high objective to defend the country, the freedom of the people, the welfare of man, his happiness and loftiness of spirit. That is why the organized masses of workers throughout Albania work with a high sense of duty. Each tries to render that contribution which at the surface, taken separately, may look as something of insignificance but, united all for a single purpose and under the guidance of the Party, down mountains, build new factories and workshops, highways and railroads, schools and cultural homes with lightning speed for the prosperity of the country, for the happiness and wellbeing

of all in which our man finds also his individual happiness and welfare. «All for one and one for all» is their motto. And in this respect there is no end of examples of unbounded love of coun-

try, of people and of man.

Let us remind ourselves of only one of the examples of the recent days. 40 workers of very different ages of the Tirana district Tractor and Motor Station rose as a body to offer parts of their body to one of their companions whose life was at stake from an accidental burn at work. Here is a high example of solidarity, of the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial for man, see what magnanimous people, what revolutionary humanism our Party has educated and keeps educating day in, day out!

Our Party, our revolution have imparted strength to our people. They exercise it on everything and effect colossal transformations on the land, at the factory, on culture and education and create a thoroughly new environment. Thus, in our country every day gives birth to new hopes, new laws, new habits, new ideas; a new sense of duty is implanted everyday in the minds

of every one.

The old world is continually being transformed, life is being revolutionized and, in the first place, men and their feelings are being transformed. Socialism gives birth to and galvanizes the new humanism, that which the old mountaineer from Berat expresses in simple and clear terms in his letter and which the materialist development of mankind has sparked off and Marxist genius has carved for centuries by calling it wthe absolute movement of the future».

Our Party should now match these colossal changes in the mind and consciousness of our people, these major achievements attained by our Party in educating our new man politically and ideologically with an unprecedented willingness and drive in work and in protecting our victories from the enemy, determined to bring about further deeper transformations, this so revolutionary a situation our Party has long worked from the day of its founding, with an ever better work of leadership and organization in order to always carry ahead our nonstop victorious revolution. Therefore, let us muster all our efforts, with unshaken confidence in our Party and marvellous people to honorably fulfil the important tasks set for us at this Plenum.

The Central Committee of the PLA and the Tirana District Party Committee organized a solemn meeting in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of J.V. Stalin's birthday. Comrade Behar Shtylla, Member of the Central Committee of the PLA, delivered a speech, a summary of which we are publishing below.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH BY COMRADE BEHAR SHTYLLA

Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the great revolutionary and thinker, the distinguished leader of the Communist Party and of the Soviet people, the disciple and close comrade-in-arms of Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat was born 90 years ago. The communists, revolutionaries and progressive peoples all over the world cherish the memory of J.V. Stalin with deep love and respect. His name and deeds are inextricably connected with the cause of revolution, freedom and communism. Stalin devoted his entire life to the struggle against oppression and explotation, to the social and national emancipation of the workers and peoples, to the building of a new society of free people, to the triumph of socialism and communism.

Through his contribution to the defence and the development of Marxism-Leninism, his all-round revolutionary activity, his resolute fight against the enemies of the peoples and socialism, Stalin ranks with the great classics of the proletariat, his name has been written down side by side with those of Marx,

Engels and Lenin.

«Stalin's historical merits are incontestable», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said. These merits make up his fundamental characteristics as a great leader and revolutionary. Soviet revisionists' calumnies against Stalin cannot tarnish in the slighest his brilliant figure and his monumental work which will shine through centuries and will serve forever as a great inspiring example and standard-bearer for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

Nowadays, when an unprecedented struggle of principle is being waged between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism within the international communist and workers' movement, Stalin's name and work, his teachings, are more actual than ever and an unerring guide to the Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine revolutionaries in their heroic struggle for national liberation and for the victory of proletarian revolution.

The Albanian communists and people, just like all the communists and workers of the world, cherish and honor with great respect and love the name of J.V. Stalin, because his ideals and exploits, his revolutionary course and great example are dear to them. Our Party of Labor has stressed and stresses it again that the attitude maintained towards J.V. Stalin is not a sentimental question raised for the purpose of saving the face and dignity of a person, but a major and deeply principled and dignity of the fundamental differences between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists and a demarkation line between them.

Throughout his life time, Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist and worthy promoter of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has masterfully and courageously defended, applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in bitter battle against the opportunists and revisionists of every color and hue, ranging from anarchists and bourgeois nationalists to Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Socialdemocrats and Titoites. Summing up the experience of revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union, as well as the experience of the workers' revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement of the world, Stalin enriched Marxism-Leninism with new theses and conclusions, raised it to a higher stage. To Stalin belongs the merit of elaborating many a theoretical and practical problem of scientific socialism, of political economy in the imperialist and socialist stage and of the Marxist philosophy. Stalin's work has been and remains an inexhaustible source of revolutionary inspiration and tempering, a rich experience of international value.

From this viewpoint, the stand towards Stalin is connected with the question of which course should be taken in the world communist movement, the course based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to which Stalin remained loyal and which

he defended and carried out in his life time, or the line preached by the modern revisionists, which is a flagrant theoretical and practical betrayal to Marxism-Leninism. Life has fully proved that the trend which emerged with the slogan of fighting against «Stalinism» was in fact the trend of the worst and most dangerous revisionism history has ever recorded. «Stalinism», which is fiercely attacked by all the revisionists is nothing else but Marxism-Leninism. Stalin did not work out any other doctrine, differing from that of Marx, Engels and Lenin, but loyally defended and developed it, resolutely carrying it into life, thus proving in practice the strength and superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist order, by turning the Soviet Union into the fatherland of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, to defend Stalin means to defend the Marxist-Leninist doctrine from revisionist betrayal, to defend socialism from capitalism, to defend revolution from counterrevolution.

For 30 years on end, J.V. Stalin stood at the head of the CPSU and of the socialist Soviet State. That was a period of great achievement and victories and revolutionary transformations which resulted in the Soviet Union making a leap forward unprecedented in history. It was transformed into a powerful socialist State of modern industry, of developed collectivized agriculture, advanced education, culture, science and technique, of invincible defencive potential which crushed the Hitlerite military machine and of colossal authority in the international

arena.

To J.V. Stalin belongs the great historical merit that, under his leadership, the ideas of scientific socialism substantiated in life. In the practice of the Soviet Union the workers all over the world saw their dream realised and the first socialist society established.

The road trailed by the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin to build socialism and defend the achievements of revolution, has not been an easy one in the least... For nearly 30 years the Soviet Union was the only socialist State in the world, and it was against this State that the waves and storms of the capitalist ocean which encircled it on all sides broke forth with fury. It was obliged to force the way all by itself to socialism by exploring unknown paths, when there was a lack of any kind of practical experience.

It was in these circumstances, so difficult and heroic at the same time, that Stalin's principled spirit and steel-like will power, his determination to forge ahead, his unshakable trust in the Party and in the forces of the people, his organising and leading capability, his prudence and farsightedness of a great

leader were revealed in all their strength.

The Great Patriotic War against the Hitlerite aggressors, writes a brilliant page in the life and activity of Stalin. The historic victory of world significance of the Soviet people during World War II, their role of liberator of the enslaved peoples of East and Central Europe, are inseparable from the leadership of J.V. Stalin as the commander-in-chief of the Soviet armed forces. Stalin's name became the symbol of resistance, of the determination and unbreakable spirit of the Soviet people, it became their source of inspiration and their guide to victory. The heroes of Stalingrad and Leningrad, the glorious partizans of enslaved Europe from Albania to Norway fell upon the Hitlerite hordes and laid down their lives in the field of honor with Stalin's name on their lips. Under Stalin's leadership, the Soviet people defended their Soviet homeland, the victories of the Great October and hoisted the red flag on the ruins of the Reichstag, thus rendering a decisive contribution to the undoing of Hitlerite Germany and to the liberation of all the enslaved peoples of Europe. The victory of the Great Patriotic War was a major proof of the vitality of the Soviet socialist order and the correctness of the general line pursued by the Bolshevik Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin in the years following the victory. The Soviet people displayed the same heroism under the leadership of Stalin in their work for the reconstruction of the country and its rapid development along socialist and communist lines.

The 30-year period of Stalin's leadership is the most glorious period in the history of the Soviet Union. This period is rich in experience and of major value. The general laws of revolution and of socialist construction defined by Marxism-Leninism found their application in the practice of the Soviet Union; the communists and workers learned from this practice the science of socialist construction tested in life. The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin is a great heritage. The Marxist-Leninists have been learning continually from this heritage. The calumnies of the modern revisionists, who have effaced all this historic period by regarding it as the darkest period in the history of the Soviet Union claiming that there had allegedly reigned oppression, terror, the breach of socialist law, prisons and concentration camps, were and are still aiming only at denigrating and denying the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, in order to pave the

way to and to justify their course of capitalist restoration... Under the black flag of the fight against «the personality cult and its consequences», the Krushchevite revisionists declared the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite, Zinovite, and bourgeois elements of the Soviet Union as «victims of Stalin», as «martyrs» and «heroes», released them from prison and, in a number of other socialist States, brought to power the traitors condemned by the revolution, liquidated 'en masse' sound revolutionary cadres and placed all sorts of career-seeking and opportunist people, obedient servants of revisionism, agents of the bourgeoisie at the head of Party and State organs. They cleared the way to the infiltration of bourgeois ideology, to the decadent arts and culture, to the capitalist way of living, thus poisoning the revolutionary conscience of communists and workers.

Life proved to it that any deviation from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian ideology, unavoidably leads into the quagmire of bourgeois ideology, that the spread of bourgeois ideology is the vanguard of political counterrevolution, and the most appropriate form propagating this ideology among the communist

parties is revisionism.

It is known that the revisionists were quick at passing from their criticism against the line pursued by Stalin for the socialist construction to the application of their own line of restoring capitalism. Side by side with the liquidation of the Communist party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their transformation into a weapon of revisionist counterrevolution, they undertook a series of «reforms» for the gradual deterioration of the economic and social order. They claimed profit to be a fundamental criterion and a stimulus for economic development, encouraging tendencies to restore private property in the town and countryside, transforming ownership into a sort of State capitalism for the exploitation of the workers by the new revisionist bourgeoisie, flinging the doors wide open to the infiltration of foreign American, Japanese, Italian, French and West German capital, giving free scope of action to the laws of the free market, to speculation, bribery, abuses, and so on. Laws, typical of the capitalist economy, are acting more and more forcibly.

From this viewpoint, too, the stand towards J.V. Stalin is a question of principle, for it bears upon the stand towards the fundamental historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, whether one should observe this experience, the general laws and principles of revolution

and socialist construction as embodied in this experience, the road indicated by Lenin and Stalin, or to abandon them and take the road of treachery and of denegrating socialism which

is preached and applied by the modern revisionists.

On the other hand, the fact that, following the demise of Stalin, there came to power in the Soviet Union the Khrushchevite clique, which liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and embarked the country onto the road of capitalism, can, by no means, serve as an argument for repulsing and denying the experience of the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Such a stand would have been entirely wrong and harmful.

Marxist-Leninists see two sides in the experience of the Soviet Union, namely, the positive and the negative side. Communists draw two major lessons of vital importance from this

experience:

Firstly, it teaches them a great positive lesson of how to build up the communist party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, how to topple the bourgeoisie by means of socialist revolution and violence, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, how to liquidate the exploiting classes and build socialist society, how to defend the victories of revolution from the old exploiting classes within the country and from the foreign imperialists.

Secondly, it teaches them another great lesson, namely, that as long as the complete victory of communism all over the world is not attained, there always exists the danger of capitalist restoration in the countries where socialist revolution has triumphed, that this danger does not emerge from the old exploiting classes alone and not only from an imperialist aggression from outside, but also from the peaceful bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of the party and the socialist state.

Marxist-Leninists study carefully both sides of this experience of the Soviet Union as well as the experience of the communist parties of other socialist States. This is a task of major importance which enriches the general experience of communism, which arms the Marxist-Leninists with new knowledge, which raises Marxism-Leninism itself to an ever higher stage. Our Party has devoted and devotes all its attention to this job. It has drawn important conclusions for its work from the tragedy of the Soviet Union and from what happened in the world communist movement with the emergence of modern revisionism and, in compliance with the conditions of the country, has adopted a series of measures to carry revolution con-

tinually ahead on the road to socialism and communism. In the great struggle for the further revolutionization of life in our country, our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is amassing and working out a new and rich experience of how to prevent forever the halt and backward turn of revolution, of how to build complete socialist society and to pass on to communism by blocking, at the same time, all paths leading to revisionist degeneration and capitalist restoration. Owing to the fact that the revolutionary process has been interrupted by the counterrevolutionary process, the Soviet Union can not create this experience. The creation of this new experience is the common task of all Marxist-Leninist parties. The Communist Party of China and, personally, its distinguished leader, the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung render a great contribution in this direction. Of special and major importance in this direction is the great proletarian cultural revolution which ensured the victory of the revolutionary line and of the ideas of Mao Tsetung over the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the traitor, agent provocateur and scab Liu Shao-chi, and guaranteed that the people's China unswervingly march on the road to socialism and communism as an invincible bastion of the peoples' freedom and of world revolution.

When Stalin was at the head of the Communist Party and of the Soviet State, the latter held aloft and unstained the red banner of October, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. For decades on end, it continued to be the fortress of revolution and socialism, the standard bearer of the struggle against imperialism, the champion and supporter of people's freedom and independence and of true peace. That was the period when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a great example of struggle, of experience, inspiration and tempering of revolutionaries and peoples all over the world.

During this historical period, applying the teachings of Lenin and under the guidance of Stalin, the world communist movement scored numerous victories. The creation of the socialist camp, the boundaries of which, with the historical victory of the revolution in China, stretched from the Adriatic and Elbe to the Pacific Ocean. The communist and workers' movement gained in width and depth, the communist parties became an important political power, they played an important part in the life of their countries, many revolutionary leading cadres were grown and tempered, a lofty revolutionary spirit and a steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity were created in the international communist movement. Revolution was in the rise every-

where, whereas imperialism was suffering one defeat after another and each heavier than the other.

It was precisely under these critical conditions of general crisis of imperialism that modern revisionism came to its aid. The renegate and traitorous clique of Khrushchev and his followers who, after the death of Stalin, had usurped power in the Party and homeland of Lenin and Stalin, imposed their counterrevolutionary line on a series of other countries where socialist revolution had triumphed, as well as on the majority of communist and workers' parties, they undermined the antimperialist and revolutionary war of the peoples, thus rendering the greatest service ever to the world U.S.-led bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Under the leadership of the Khrushchevite revisionists the Soviet Union was transformed from the vanguard of the revolution to a dangerous center of counterrevolution in the world, from the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the country of ferocious dictatorship of social-fascism, from the standard-bearer of the fight against imperialism to an ally and collaborator of imperialism, from the liberator and supporter of the peoples to a new imperialist power for oppres-

sing and enslaving peoples.

The Soviet revisionist leaders may well talk themselves hoarse against imperialism, they may even swear that they are «pure Marxists» and that they are allegedly carrying out the teachings of Lenin. This does not hold water. People judge you by your deeds not by your words. What sort of a socialist State is the Soviet Union today when the leading revisionist clique has placed the alliance with the bloody U.S. imperialists at the basis of its foreign policy, and in the name of this alliance and for its counterrevolutionary purpose it attacks socialist China and Albania, sabotages the heroic war of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and the war of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors? When it endeavors to come in contact with the revenge-seekers of Bonn by trampling underfoot the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic and of the other neighboring countries, when it consolidates its relations with the Japanese militarists by making concessions after concessions to them and when it extends its collusion with the fascist cliques of Indonesia, Thailand and Malay which have smeared their hands with the blood of the communists and revolutionary patriots, when it plots in collusion with the Indian reactionaries against the People's Republic of China, strengthening political and economic relations with the fascist and military juntas of Latin America for the purpose of supressing revolution there? The imperialist policy of the revisionist chiefs of Kremlin found its most cynical expression in the fascist-type aggression against Czechoslovakia and in the bloody provocations on its borders with the People's Republic of China.

All of these make an important as well as actual issue of the stand towards Stalin. To defend Stalin means to defend the line of the fight against imperialism and the forces of reaction, the line of supporting and developing revolution and liberation wars, the line of friendship, mutual aid and fraternal collaboration between socialist countries, the line of consolidation and Marxist-Leninist unity in the communist movement, the line to which Stalin was ever loyal and which he carried out in practice with revolutionary consistency.

Communists, proletarians and all peace-loving revolutionary peoples have whole-heartedly loved and respected Stalin, for in him they have seen the unbending champion of the fight against imperialism, colonialism and international reaction, their great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leader. Whereas the imperialists, the oppressors and exploiters of peoples, the counterrevolutionaries of all hues, have seen in Stalin their dreadful enemy, for he was the captain of victorious revolution, of overthrowing capitalist society by means of violence, of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. That is why, after his death, the renegade gang of Nikita Khrushchev initiated its road of treason by attacking Stalin at the ill-famed XXth Congress of the CPSU, which was, in fact, an attack against Marxism-Leninism. But, when taking this road, revisionism soon ran against numerous contradictions, insurmountable difficulties and obstacles, which have been continually increasing and deepening.

From the very outset, the revisionist treason came up against the firm opposition of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Communist Party of China. Their tit-for-tat struggle against Soviet-led modern revisionism, was a struggle of historic importance and played the decisive role in exposing Khrushchevite revisionism. As a result of this struggle the demarcation line was drawn between the Marxist-Leninist truth and revisionist treason, a strong process of differentiation took place in the international communist movement. Tens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations which raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the fight against revisionism and took in their hands the cause of revolution so far abandoned by the revisionists, sprang up on all the con-

tinents within a few years. In spite of the desperate efforts of the revisionists and of the bourgeoisie to put the brakes on this revolutionary process, it is being successfully carried out in all countries inflicting heavy losses to revisionism and thus predicting its inevitable doom. The world-wide experience of the revolutionary movement teaches us that, without the leadership of the true Marxist-Leninist party, socialist revolution can neither be successfully conducted nor carried through to the end. On this issue, too, the struggle and teachings of Stalin, especially his call to bolshevize the parties, are of extreme importance and ever actual. The stand towards this issue in theory and practice helps tell Marxist-Leninists from modern revisionists and from the social-democrats of all hues. Respecting and applying these teachings is a fundamental condition for the revolutionary tempering of Marxist-Leninist parties as well as for the preparation of victory and the nonstop spread of revolution.

The Khrushchevite revisionists did not only deny and trample underfoot the whole of Lenin's and Stalin's heritage, but they also destroyed and ruined the entire glorious work of the Soviet people's October Revolution, the socialist order, the international moral and political prestige of the Soviet Union as the State of the victorious proletariat.

By doggedly pursuing their criminal course of doing away with the victories of socialism and of re-establishing capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, the course of liquidating the communist parties and of collaborating with the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, the Khrushchevite revisionists have involved themselves into a deep irreconciliable conflict with the working class and the people of their countries. This contradiction is being aggravated with each passing day because the catastrophic consequences of the revisionist line are becoming ever more evident to the working class and the Soviet people. On this basis, the resistance and the struggle of the revolutionary forces in the revisionist lair itself are gathering strength. In the future this resistance and struggle will, by all manner of means, assume fiercer forms, until they will bring about the destruction of revisionism, for such is the law of the development of the class struggle.

The major antagonism of the present time, is that between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on one hand, and the peoples of the world, on the other. It is becoming ever clearer that the question of the people's liberation, of

ensuring their independence and peace, the question of revolution and socialism cannot be understood, solved and defended without, at the same time, waging a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and revisionism, especially against Soviet revisionist imperialism. Peoples all over the world are becoming and shall become more conscious of this inevitable historic task. At his time Stalin had said: «accounts cannot be settled with capitalism without settling them with social-democratism in the workers' movement,» that is, with revisionism.

In the revisionist camp itself and, especially, among the Soviet revisionist leaders and other revisionist groupings, the contradictions have also become more acute... Each revisionist grouping tries to draw profits at the cost of the other, trying to escape from the tutelage of the Soviet dictate, setting up its own alliances and pursuing its own course by endeavoring to defend its own interests and those of the bourgeoisie which it represents. The situation in the revisionist lair resembles, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, that of a pack of wolves trying to rip and tear each other to pieces.

Today, the most important feature of the Brezhnyev-Kosygin clique's home and foreign policy is to strengthen their fascist, oppressive, aggressive and imperialist inclinations, the establishment of a ferocious military dictatorship and the use of overt fascist and imperialist methods. These are by no means

signs of strength but of weakness.

The events in Czekoslovakia are not an isolated phenomenon of the actual Soviet policy. This policy appears also in the threats and the brandishing of arms against other peoples, especially those of the Balkans, in the Soviet fleet cruising the Mediterranean and the Pacific Ocean, in the expansion of the Soviet military bases in many countries, in the raids and provocations against the People's Republic of China, in the frenzied hostility against the People's Republic of Albania, and so on and so forth.

The fierce fascist-like dictatorship has found its expression also in the inner life of the Soviet Union. Military circles are playing an ever greater role in the present Soviet policy. There, they are adopting stiff measures to suppress any revolutionary activities of the Soviet people and of the true bolsheviks, they are intensifying their struggle against any freedom of thinking and revolutionary organization by setting up, for this purpose, concentration camps and by supressing the revolt of the masses by machine-gun fire... This shows that things are not going too well for the Brezhnyev-Kosygin clique in the domestic

affairs, that they are scared by the resistance and the struggle of the Soviet people, who will clear off without fail and in a revolutionary way all revisionist garbage, be they liberals or conservatives, «ultras» or moderates.

That is not all. By means of similar measures, the revisionist leaders attempt at creating the deceptive impression they are allegedly going back to sound revolutionary positions, that

they are even «returning to Stalin's rigid line...»

This is the basest hypocrisy and the most desperate maneuver of the Soviet revisionists. This is an attempt to guise their treason under new masks, to pass their transition to social-fascism and social-imperialism as an alleged come-back to Stalin and to his revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line. These endeavors of the Soviet revisionists cannot mislead the Marxist-Leninists and honest people. Those who up to yesterday frantically attacked Stalin, who hurled the most unbriddled calumnies against him, who rejected the line pursued by him in all fields, who trampled underfoot Stalin's work, who even went so far as to throw Stalin's embalmed body out of the mausoleum, cannot hide themselves behind his name in order to cover up their treason and crimes. Stalin and revisionism are two entirely opposite things, which exclude each other and are in irreconciliable contradiction between them.

Soviet revisionists' maneuver with Stalin's name aims at duping the Soviet people, at spreading a smokescreen in order to hide what is actually happening within the Soviet Union and with their counterrevolutionary foreign and domestic policy. On the other hand, this maneuver goes to show that Stalin, his name and work are still alive in the hearts of the Soviet people, that the deeper the revisionists plunge into the mire of treason, the more magnificent towers the figure of Stalin before the Soviet people.

This new demagogical maneuver of the Soviet revisionists should be exposed to the letter and with determination. Stalin, his life and work, his line are the most merciless enemies of revisionism. Stalin cannot be rehabilitated by the revisionists. This would mean a suicide for the revisionists. Stalin belongs to the peoples, to revolution, to Marxism-Leninism and socialism. And he will be restored to his well-merited pedestal by the triumphant revolution which will, for sure, break out again in

the Soviet Union.

At these moments, the part to be played by the Soviet revolutionary bolsheviks themselves is of special major importance. Their historical task is neither to show a sentimental love for Stalin, nor to be content with the fact that his name is being mentioned, but to engage in revolutionary struggle to overthrow revisionism, to reestablish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to turn the Soviet Union onto the road of Lenin and Stalin. Love for Stalin and loyalty towards his work should find expression in militant and revolutionary undertakings for the organization of the masses and for launching them in the struggle and revolution against revisionist betrayal.

Our Party of Labor, as a consistent Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist party which has been waging an unreserved and uncompromising struggle against revisionist betrayal, has not allowed and shall not allow the Khrushchevite revisionists to smear the name of Stalin, nor shall it let them use his name as a mask to cover up their criminal deeds. It has daringly denounced all the masks and maneuvers of the revisionists, just as it resolutely denounces their maneuvers for an alleged comeback to the revolutionary positions of Stalin. «The Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «should defend Stalin from any calumnies and attack by the revisionists and, by means of their struggle, should achieve their aim of placing Stalin's name and work on the place of honor they are entitled to. For Stalin has been and remains a great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist.»

In commemorating the 90th anniversary of J.V. Stalin's birthday, we communists and the laboring masses of Albania bow down with respect to the memory of his name and work, determined to the end to march ahead on the road to Marxism-Leninism, of socialist and communist construction, along which our glorious Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha lead us. Stalin's teachings and his work have been and remain a great source of inspiration and a rich revolutionary experience for us. We are not upset by our enemies calling us Stalin'ss. On the contrary, we regard it an honor to follow Stalin's work and road, for Stalin was and remains a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist and a great and distinguished leader, a dear and beloved friend of our Party and people.

The anti-Marxist and traitorous policy of the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, their perfidious attacks and hostile acts against our Party and people cannot cool down our warm feelings for the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, cannot lessen in the slightest our respect for J.V. Stalin. These feelings have struck deep roots in the conscience of the Albanian communists and workers thanks to our heroic Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and there is no power on earth that can uproot them. The principled and consistent struggle of our Party and people against Khrushchevite revisionists is also an expression of those feelings, for in our struggle we defend not only the cause of revolution and socialism in Albania and in the world, but also the ideals of Great October, the immortal work of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union itself.

This year our people celebrated with splendor the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the victory of the people's revolution. In its 25th anniversary socialist Albania, led by the Party of Labor with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, asserted all its strength and vitality which spring from the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the heroic struggle and work of our people. But never do we forget that our victories have their root also in the heroic war of the Red Army which smashed the fascist hordes during World War II, as well as in the international assistance of the fraternal Soviet peoples led

by great Stalin.

As a great revolutionary and internationalist, J.V. Stalin has rendered to our Party and people valuable aid not only of a political, economic and military character, but also all-round support, as well as valuable advice and rich experience. In solving the major problems of socialist construction such as the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, the plannification of its economy, the development of education and culture, the construction of the socialist State and of its armed forces, the training of new cadres and intelligentsia, our Party and people had as their guiding compass the experience of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin, had the fraternal aid and support of the Soviet Union. Our new socialist State received such help from the Soviet Union under the guidance of Stalin also in the international field, against the diabolic schemes and conspiracies of the U.S. - British imperialists and their lackeys.

This aid underwent a thorough change in its character following the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists. From an internationalist aid it was transformed into a chauvinistic, colonialist aid aiming at enslaving our country, at making it economically and politically dependent on them. They used this aid as a means to force our Party and Government to their knees, to induce us to obediently and subserviently approve their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist line and actions. But our Party slapped the truth on the face of the Khrushchevite revisionists. It taught them that the Albanian communists do not barter with the interests of the people and of socialism,

that they cannot abandon their principles for some momentary profits, that the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism stand above all kinds of credits and economic aid accorded to them. Relying on their own resources and enjoying the internationalist and fraternal aid of the People's Republic of China, our Party and people smashed the ferocious economic blockade of the Khrushchevite revisionists and successfully forged ahead with the socialist construction in Albania, by mounting and developing, at the same time, their uninterrupted ideological and political struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionists at the head, the struggle for the liberation of the peoples and the victory of Marxism-Leninism in the international field.

The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people are proud of the fact that the Marxist-Leninist ideals of Stalin and his revolutionary work live and triumph in their country. Courageously and wisely led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Party has remained and will remain loyal forever to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it has fought and will unflinchingly fight for the preservation of the purity of the victorious doctrine of the proletariat, it will defend Stalin and his revolutionary work and will denounce and will fight against all enemies of socialism and revolution.

The 90th anniversary of J.V. Stalin's birthday is a memorable day for us, the Albanian communists and people, because, by calling back to mind the life and work of this great revolutionary, we gather new forces and energies, strengthen our belief and optimism for the future, sharpen our vigilance and strengthen our readiness, increase our impetus at work and temper our revolutionary virtues.

The life and work of Stalin have been and remain for us

a war flag which guides us to continually advance and promote the cause of revolution and socialism, to intensify our struggle against imperialism and revisionism and bring about the inevitable victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world.

LAW ON THE NEW SCHOOL SYSTEM

In line with the decisions of the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA held in June 1969, with a view to making our school better respond to the tasks of the complete construction of socialist society at the present and future stages, and to rendering decisive contribution to the training and education of the new man with all-round communist outlook, loval to the last to the cause of the Party, closely bound with the working people, staunch fighter for the construction of socialism and the defence of Marxism-Leninism; with a view to having our school train sufficient numbers of qualified cadres and skilled workers; contribute as it should to the continual raising of the cultural level of the laboring masses, especially of the working class, to the gradual narrowing down and the eventual disappearance of the essential differences between mental and manual labor, as well as between town and the countryside; with a view to making the whole of our school system stand on the basis of an organic unity of teaching, production work and physical and military training, by giving absolute priority to the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, and with the aim of making our school increasingly an institution of the popular masses, especially in the network of secondary and higher schools;

The People's Assembly, at the suggestion of the Council of the Ministers,

DECIDED:

To pass the law «On the new school system», with the following content:

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL SYSTEM

Article 1

The school system is based on socialist and democratic principles, it is run through by the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis and develops on the basis of the organic link of teaching, production work and physical and military training.

Article 2

Education is given to school youth in full-time schools and to workers and peasants in part-time schools.

Article 3

Education is available through a complete and mass system of schools of various links bound to each other and continuously expanding.

Article 4

The school system comprises:

- a) Pre-school education.
- b) General 8th-grade education.
- c) Secondary education.
- d) Higher education.

Article 5

Education is given free of charge in all the network of the school system and at the out-of-school institutions.

CHAPTER II

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

Article 6

The task of pre-school education is to impart social education to children from three to six years of age in such a way as to ensure their physical and mental development and endow

them with the rudiments of communist ethics as well as to prepare them to enrol in schools.

Pre-school education is general; it is carried out gradually

and is given at the kindergartens and children's homes.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL 8th-GRADE EDUCATION

Article 7

8th-grade education makes up the basic link of the school system, it is standard, general and compulsory for all children from six years of age upwards.

The admittance of children of six years of age to 8th-grade

schools is carried out gradually.

Article 8

In compliance with the age of the pupils, the 8th-grade schooling imparts to them the rudiments of political, ideological, ethical, aesthetic and physical education, a general culture, imbues them with the love and habits of work in such a way as to enable them to pursue studies in secondary schools and to train them to participate in social life and socialist production in the days to come.

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Article 9

In compliance with their age, secondary school imparts to students a sound scientific Marxist-Leninist worldoutlook and polytechnical knowledge in organic unity of teaching, production work and physical and military training of the students in such a way as to make them able to directly participate in social production, trains them for the defence of the homeland and endows them with all knowledge necessary to pursue their higher studies.

Article 10

Secondary schooling is multiferious and is given at various secondary vocational schools and at secondary schools of general education.

The secondary vocational schools, which train qualified workers and medium technicians of different specializations are, as a rule, of a wide range of branches. The secondary vocational schools may be of one, of more than one branch or combined with branches of various specializations or with secondary schools of general education.

Article 11

All the secondary schools of various categories for the school youth are of four year's duration, of the same school-year structure and ensure approximately the same level of fundamental general culture.

Article 12

The students graduating from part-time secondary schools go through a year's probation period in production prior to pursuing higher studies.

Article 13

The military and physical training of the school youth is given at schools and military units according to a common program organically combined with age and sex, as specified in separate regulations.

Article 14

As a rule, part-time secondary vocational schools for workers and cooperative members are limited to a narrow range of branches, of four years' duration and are set up at economic establishments and cooperative farms, or on a district basis.

CHAPTER V

HIGHER EDUCATION

Article 15

The task of higher education is to train young revolutionary specialists, imbued with the proletarian spirit, ideologically and politically formed to match the demands of the development of the economy and culture in our country, theoretically and practically capable for work and defence of the homeland.

Higher education carries out these tasks by strengthening the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis in organic unity of teaching,

production work and physical and military training.

Article 16

Higher education is given at the University and other higher schools.

Higher schools have departments of various branches and specializations, whereas the training of higher specialists is carried out mainly along a broad profile.

Article 17

Higher school teaching courses last 3-4 years and, in special cases, 5 years. As to the place of teaching, production work, and physical and military training the school-year structure is the same for all schools.

Article 18

Students are admitted to higher schools after having been through a secondary school and a probation period for not less than one year in production.

Article 19

All postgraduates will go through a period of eight or nine months' probation in production as well as a three months' course of military training.

Article 20

Higher education given at higher schools of regular attendance and their affiliations is one of the main forms of further extending higher education among the masses and of raising the theoretical and scientific level of the workers and peasants.

As a rule the term of study at higher schools of regular attendance is one year shorter than that of the respective part-

time branches.

Article 21

Workers are admitted to higher schools of regular attendance if they have graduated from secondary schools and have done no less than one year of direct work in production.

As a rule, workers who have graduated from secondary vocational schools of regular attendance, prior to being admitted to the respective higher schools, are to go through a one-year preparatory course in order to gain their general scientific and technical culture.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE TRAINING OF THE WORKERS AND THE QUALIFICATION OF THE CADRES

Article 22

Besides the above-mentioned network of the school system, low technical and vocational schools and courses of various specializations of regular and part-time attendance are set up on the basis of 8th-grade school for the purpose of training young qualified workers and of further qualifying workers and cooperative members.

Special courses are set up for the purpose of further qualifying and specializing higher cadres.

CHAPTER VII

FINAL DISPOSITIONS

Article 23

Special matters connected with the new school system regarding the dependence and opening and closing of various

schools, the term of study at various departments of higher schools, facilities to be created for workers attending part-time schools, production work and physical and military training are defined by the Council of Ministers in special dispositions.

Article 24

The 11th of June 1963 law №. 3697 «On the re-organization of the school system in the People's Republic of Albania» and the 11th of November 1963 decree «On compulsory 8th-grade education» are declared null and void.

Article 25

This law comes into force as from January 1970

Tirana, December 24, 1969

Nº 4623

Chairman of the Presidium of the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania:

HAXHI LLESHI

Secretary of the Presidium of the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania:

BILBIL KLOSI

The 9th Session of the 6th Legislature of the Popular Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania held its proceedings on February 16 and 17,1970. Candidate-Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Chairman Abdyl Këllezi of the State Planning Commission submitted the Report on the realization of the 1969 State plan and budget and on the tasks of the State draft-plan and draft-budget set for 1970. The following is a summary of this Report.

FROM THE REPORT ON THE REALIZATION OF THE 1969 STATE PLAN AND BUDGET AND THE TASKS OF THE STATE DRAFT-PLAN AND DRAFT-BUDGET SET FOR 1970

Every year brings to us new victories in the field of the development of the productive forces, every year brings the consolidation of our economy, every year marks new strides on the road to completing the construction of socialist society. 1969, the last year of the first quarter century of our free and independent existence, scored further victories on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

On the 25th anniversary of their liberation, the Albanian people drew the balance-sheet of all the victories achieved and proudly proclaimed to the world that socialist Albania is no longer the most backward country of Europe but the country that has the most advanced economic and social order in Europe, the country that has its own modern industry, collectivized agriculture which is rapidly advancing on the road of intensi-

fication, the country where there exist no taxes and imposts on the population, one of the few countries in Europe which has undertaken and is successfully carrying out the electrification of the whole country within a record period of time, it is the country where the medical treatment and education are given free of charge, the country where people are in power,

where they are masters of their own destiny. It is these victories achieved by our people, under the leadership of the Party that make them usher in with full revolutionary optimism the second quarter century, of their free and independent existence, that prepare them for new battles and victories. And victories will follow one after another, for a guarantee for this lies in the correct leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the unity of the people around the Party, in the readiness, hard work and revolutionary vigor of our people. «A good day begins at dawn», a saying of our people goes. And in the march towards the highest peaks of socialism the dawn of our second quarter century is shining with the greatest splendor from thousands of revolutionary sparks that have burst forth in all parts of our country, from the mass heroism, the revolutionary mass actions on concentrated targets, the bold initiatives and thousands upon thousands of proposals which are breaking rules and concepts in all the fields of our life and activity — such is the living picture of the reality in our days.

A living testimony to the big revolutionary job that the Party has done, to the unprecedented revolutionary drive that has gripped our working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, are the splendid results that have been achieved in the fulfilment of the tasks of the 1969 State plan and budget and during the four years of the current five-year period in all the branches of people's economy and culture. The 1969 total industrial production was fulfilled by over 100 per cent as planned, and by 111 per cent as against that of last year. Almost all the districts have fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan targets of total industrial production.

Greater efforts have been exerted by our agricultural workers to realize the 1969 tasks. In 1969, as against 1968, the following increases have been acchieved in agricultural products: total agricultural production has risen about 10 per cent, the production of food grains about 8 per cent, the production of cotton about 35 per cent, the production of tobacco about 15 per cent, the production of sunflower about 22 per cent, the

production of vegetables about 57 per cent, and so on.

In the agricultural sector we have scored important successes, especially during these recent 2 or 3 years. The successes have been more substantial in the production of food grains.

A distinctive feature of the year 1969 are the great revolutionary initiatives taken by our cooperative peasantry to bring about a change in the living conditions of the countryside. As a result of the big job done by the Party for the revolutionization of the whole national life, in general, and for narrowing down the differences between the countryside and the city, in particular, as well as of the efforts of the State organs and of all the working people to find new availabilities and resources in order to meet the needs arising from these great changes, very good work was done last year in setting up projects for social and cultural purposes in the countryside. There were built over 9.600 social and cultural projects including 1,460 creches, 1,035 kindergartens, 238 maternity homes, 1,200 public dining halls, 1,850 bathrooms and laundry houses, 1,140 bakeries, 1,860 workshops and about 820 homes and centers of culture.

Good results have been achieved also by the transport workers in fulfilling the plan targets. In comparison with 1968, the volume of work realized in the transport of goods in 1969 has been 6 per cent and in that of passangers about 5 per cent

higher.

The plan for construction and assembly work carried out by the enterprises run by the Ministry of Construction, was fulfilled for the year 1969 about 100 per cent or 17 per cent more than during the previous year. During the four years of this five-year period the volume of investments made is about 12 per cent higher than the targets set by the 5th Party Congress. This growth of the funds of investments and capital constructions has made possible a further development of the productive forces and of the social and cultural projects. Big, magnificent and modern works have been built and put into operation.

In land reclamation work, the target of giving 4,500 hectares of land for cultivation has been fulfilled, the irrigation capacity increased also by 19,000 hectares as against 18,000 hectares planned, including 13,500 hectares in the upland areas. During the past year the following projects were completed and commissioned: the oil refinery and the thermo-electric powerstation in Fieri, the «Mao Tsetung» textile combine, the glass factory (the section producing containers), the electric bulb factory in Vlora, the instrument and yarn producing factories in Korça, the Harvala water reservoir in the Vlora district, the

Llakaj reservoir in Kruma, the reservoirs of Dukaj and Krahës in the Tepelena district, the irrigation of Pac in Tropoja, the Lunik-Funara irrigation canal in the Librazhd district, the pumping station in the Korça district. The Rrogozhina-Fier railway was completed and put into operation, work started on the new Elbasan-Prrenjas railroad, hospitals were built in Durrës, Shkodër, Saranda, Pogradec, etc. Work is going on at a rapid revolutionary speed for the complete electrification of the rural areas. During the past two years, as against 732 villages planned for electrification, 1,096 or 364 more villages received electric light, of the 1,759 villages which had not yet received electricity in December 1967, when the decision of the 4th plenum of the CC of the PLA was adopted, there still remain 663 villages without electric light.

Our Party and the People's Power have always attached special attention to the continuous growth of the well-being of the working masses. The care for man and for meeting his needs runs as a red thread through all the programs and plans of the Party and State. Facts, better than anything else, speak

of this.

The target envisaged by the 1969 plan for the increase of national income has been successfully reached recording an increase of nearly 11 per cent above that of 1968. The plan for the turnover of goods likewise has been fulfilled in a satisfactory way, with an increase of almost 9 per cent above that of 1968. In 1969 the exports increased by 7 per cent as compared with 1968. During this period, there were recorded further improvements in supplying the people, in which visible increases have been noticed as against the previous year both in quality, quantity and diversity. Last year, on the eve of the great festive days, the Party and the Government gave the people another happy news: a new reduction of the prices of retail sale and other measures favoring the collective farms and, in particular, those of the hill and mountain areas, as well as the complete abolition of the system of taxes on the population. During 1969 there were spent twice as many funds for the construction of dwelling flats as during 1966. The 1969 plan for the construction of dwelling houses was fulfilled in a satisfactory manner.

The tasks envisaged in the fields of education, culture and

public health have been fulfilled and overfulfilled.

Summing up all the results achieved last year in the field of the well-being of the working masses, suffice it to say that the real income per capita of the factory and official workers, as well as the real income per capita of the peasantry, increased in 1969 beyond the targets set by the Fourth Five-year Plan for

the year 1970.

The successful fulfilment of the main indices of the 1969 plan for economic and cultural development has brought about, as a consequence, also the fulfilment of the State budget. The revenues of the State budget have been fulfilled 101 per cent, while the expenditure 97,8 per cent, leaving a surplus of incomes over expenditures amounting to 300 million leks or 150 million leks more than planned for.

As a result of better mobilization of the working people and of a deeper understanding of the need for strengthering the savings regime on their part, there has been recorded a reduction of costs above plan, reaching the sum of about 30 million leks.

Despite the unexpected things that happened last year, such as earthquakes, etc., the State budget ensured the regular financing of the economic and cultural development of the

country in compliance with the plan targets.

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, another great victory was achieved when the consequences of last year's earthquake of April 3 and 8 affecting the population of the districts of Fier, Tepelena, Vlora, Berat,

Skrapar, and Permet were fully liquidated.

In line with what has now become a custom in this country and on the basis of the socialist fraternal solidarity, of readiness and total mobilization of the Party, State and economic organs and of the working people and various specialists, the necessary measures were at once taken to overcome this natural calamity. As a result of this big job, there were built and repaired 6,516 buildings, there were built anew 7 villages and hamlets with 322 dwelling houses and 67 buildings for social and cultural purposes (schools, hearths of culture, kindergartens, and creches, outpatient clinics, pharmacies, maternity homes, public bath and laundry houses, bakeries, dining halls, kitchens, public catering units and shops with all their equipments and furniture). With a regular planimetry, streets and sewage canals, aqueducts and springs, electric light installations, etc., were built in Rabija and Izvor, two villages in the Tepelena district and in Cerila in the Fieri district, together with new quarters in the villages of Ninesh and Gadurova in the Vlora district.

Expenses incurred for the temporary lodging of the damaged families and for the repairs and construction of all the damaged buildings and houses, for all the construction of new villages and village quarters and for supplying furniture to homes and social and cultural institutions in the new villages and village quarters were defrayed mostly by the State. For this purpose there were spent about 40 million leks. Important has been also the aid of the collective farms in workers and specialists of their own. And it could not be otherwise, for with us "Party and people are inseparable", "what the Party says the people do and what the people want the Party does". The contrary is the case in the capitalist and revisionist countries where, even without natural calamities, insecurity and fear of the morrow haunt the millions of the working masses. Misery, poverty and lack of help and support from their exploiting capitalist governments in cases of natural calamities are pictures always to be seen in the capitalist world.

As is seen, during the year 1969, too, we have advanced at a firm stride and higher pace. The results we have achieved in all fields are important and make possible the further strengthening of our economy. Our enemies alone see to darken our victories which are as bright as sunshine. But the splendor of our successes cannot be obscured, just as one cannot cover the sky with a sieve. The revisionist enemies are prattling claiming that our national economy is allegedly marking time, that it has not developed, for, according to them, we lack the economic aid of the Soviet Union and of the other revisionist countries.

Referring to this slander of the Soviet revisionists in his speech delivered on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said to them among others: «Don't pity the lot of the one who is favored by fortune. We don't want your so-called aid which is poison and a trap to enslave the peoples. We have the great riches of our soil, we have the sweat, the strength, the iron will and the ability of our talented people who are skilfully extracting and utilizing these riches for their own wellbeing and for the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labor which is leading the country with wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction. We say to the revisionists: your blockade, your brutal breaking off of the economic agreements, your complete cessation of the supply of industrial equipment, your stealth of designs and blue-prints, your abandonment half way of the work begun, etc., may have hampered the implementation of the third five-year plan at the start but our national economy did not stop its victorious march for a single moment. It emerged triumphant over your shameful blockade».

The results achieved also during 1969 testified to the fact that irrespective of the blockades, obstacles and difficulties raised to our country by the imperialists and modern revisionists we have courageously marched forward relying on our own resources and, far from slowing down our tempo, we have, on the contrary, further increased it. Let us take, for example, the country's socialist industrialization where the revisionists' «anxiety» is greater. We have continuously carried forward the country's industrialization which has made possible not only the vigorous development of industrial production but has brought about a marked improvement of its structure. The industrial production of 1968 was 2.3 times as large as the production of the year 1960 and of this: the production of the petroleum industry 2,4 times, of the coal industry 2.3 times, of the copper industry 15.3 times, of the iron-nickel industry 3.8 times, of the electric power industry 3.9 times, of the machine-making industry 5.8 times, of the chemical industry 16.6 times, of the building materials industry 2.6 times, of the glass and ceramics industry over 4 times, of light industry 2.2 times, etc. In ten months of 1969 alone the Tirana, Durrës, Fier and Shkodra districts turned out as much industrial production as was realized by the whole industry of this country in 1960.

This rapid development of our industry, just as of all the other branches of our economy, has been achieved through the construction and putting into operation of many new works as well as of the better utilization of productive capacities, etc. In achieving these results the Albanian people have enjoyed the continuous openhanded and internationalist aid of the Chinese people, of the Communist Party of China and of the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tsetung. We have used this aid to the advantage of the development of our economy, to the advantage of the construction of socialism. During these recent days, the P.R. of China granted another very valuable aid to our people, donating all the goods displayed at the exhibition on «The Successes of Socialist Construction in the P.R. of China» which it had opened in our capital as well as the building in which it was held. Allow me to express once more our thanks and fraternal gratitude to the fraternal Chinese people for all the generous aids that they have given to our people as well as for the recent valuable gift.

The State draft-plan and draft-budget for 1970 which are being submitted to the People's Assembly for examination and approval, have been worked out bearing in mind the tasks envisaged by the 4th five-year plan for the current year as well as the specific conditions in which our people's economy and

culture are developing.

On the basis of the experience gained sofar, the draft-plan for 1970 has been worked out with the broad participation of the working people who, through their proposals, have laid down tasks which in general go beyond the targets fixed by the 5th Party Congress in the 4th five-year plan for the year 1970.

As compared with 1969, the total industrial and agricultural production taken together has been planned to be increased by 11.2 per cent, of which the total industrial production by 7.5 per cent and the total agricultural production by 17 per cent. Of the total industrial production that of group A (the means of production) will be increased by 7.9 per cent and the production of group B (broad consumption goods) by 7.1 per cent. According to branches, the industrial production has been planned to be increased by 9 per cent in the petroleum industry, 7 per cent in the chromium industry, 12 per cent in the power industry, 8 per cent in the chemical industry, 10 per cent in the industry of building materials, 9 per cent in the food processing industry. Of the total agricultural production, the production of field crops will be increased by 23 per cent, of stockraising by 7 per cent, and the production of fruitgrowing by 15 per cent.

This draft-plan envisages also a further increase in the transport of goods by 9 per cent and of passangers by 5 per cent

above those of 1969.

An increase has also been envisaged in the indices characterizing the improvement of the material and cultural wellbeing of the working people. Thus the national income will be 10 per cent above that of the year 1969, the real income of the factory and office workers - about 16 per cent, the real income of the peasantry — 36 per cent above those of 1965. As compared with 1969, the sales of certain staple commodities will increase as follows: rice — 13 per cent, macaroni — 7 per cent, beans — 6 per cent, cheeses — 14 per cent, meat — 17 per cent, fish — 25 per cent, milk — 18 per cent, sugar — 15 per cent, edible fats — 7 per cent, fabrics -9 per cent, cloth -6 per cent, shoes -12 per cent, cement -11 per cent. On this basis, the circulation of goods is increased by 8 per cent. The number of school children will be increased by 9 per cent. The volume of exports will be increased by 5 per cent. Important steps are planned to be taken to improve the working and living conditions of the working people, especially, in the field of building new dwelling houses, hospitals, schools, creches and kindergartens as well as to provide better service to the people and to create facilities for work to the women both at the work centers and in the family.

All organizational and technical measures have been taken to step up the work on completing the electrification of the

country.

On the basis of the tasks envisaged by the draft-plan for 1970 to increase goods production, investments and the tasks laid down for the social and cultural measures, the income of the State draft-budget are put at 5 billion and 210 million leks with a surplus of 7.6 per cent, and the expenditures at 5 billion and 110 million leks with an increase of 12.6 per cent as compared with 1969. In this way the draft-budget submitted for examination and approval has a surplus of the incomes over the expenditures of 100 million leks.

In line with the measures adopted last year by the Party for the abolishment of the taxation on the population, the incomes of the State-budget for 1970 are based entirely on the socialist

sector.

As usual, the State draft-budget for 1970 envisages also an increase of the expenditures and in the first place for the development and further strengthening of our people's economy, for the development of social and cultural sectors and, in general, for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people. The expenditures of the State budget to finance the people's economy are increased by 11.2 per cent as compared with 1969 and account for 61.4 per cent of all the expenditures, the expenditures for social and cultural measures are increased by 17.6 per cent and they will make up 24.9 per cent of the total expenditures. The necessary expenditures have also been earmarked for the defence of the country and of the victories of our people's revolution, for the upkeep of our armed forces.

As is seen, the State budget envisages important measures to develop and expand our people's economy and the social and cultural institutions.

Analysing the targets, the rates and the proportions laid down in the draft-plan which we are examining and taking them together with the realization of the last four years and comparing them with the tasks that the directives of the 5th Party Congress contain, we notice these main characteristics of the year 1970:

First, the total industrial production envisaged in this draftplan is 16 per cent higher than the production envisaged in the 4th five-year plan for 1970. This means that the orientation given by the 5th Party Congress to increase 50-54 per cent the industrial production in the year 1970 as compared with the year 1965, is greatly overfulfilled and reaches about 79 per cent. The targets fixed by the 5th Party Congress for the total industrial production of the five years taken together has been envisaged to be fulfilled approximately in 4 years and 7 months. The tasks of the five-year plan for the main industrial products are overfulfilled in crude oil and its by-products, in chromium ore, blister copper, phosphate fertilizer, electric power, cement, sawn timber, furniture, fabrics and cloth, shoes, etc.

Second, in the total agricultural production the tasks envisaged in this draft-plan are very great. The rates of increase of the total agricultural production are among the highest at-

tained sofar.

Third, the volume of goods transported by motor vehicles, railroads and by sea as well as the movement of passangers

surpass the targets set by the five-year plan.

The volume of investments and construction is also increased as compared with the targets of the five-year plan. For the five years taken together, there will be invested 16.4 per cent more funds than envisaged by the five-year plan, whereas the

construction work volume will be 20 per cent larger.

Fourth, on the basis of the increase and development of the productive forces at faster rates than envisaged by the 5th Party Congress for the 4th five-year plan and as a result of the revolutionary drive and bold initiatives of the working masses of our country, the indices of the material and cultural level of the working people have also been reached. The indices of education, public health, export, etc., go likewise beyond the

targets of the five-year plan.

The successful accomplishment of the plan for 1969 greatly rejoices and fills us with revolutionary optimism preparing us to be always ready for further and ever greater battles in our march towards socialism. Hardly had the year 1969 ended, when premises appeared that the socialist emulation drive to fulfil the tasks of the five-year plan ahead of schedule rose to new heights. By digging a 17 kilometer long irrigation canal in 8 hours, the working people of the Dibra district sparked off a big mass movement which has recently spread all over the country. And, as is the case with us, the mass action method has been embraced, developed and is becoming the main work method in all the districts of our country, in order to organize the work in a new way, to solve with one's own efforts and through concentrated blows even the most complicated and

difficult problems involving our economic and cultural development.

Characteristic is the fact that the mass action method aimed at a single target introduced in agriculture is extending to all the sectors of our economy, not only on the field of production but also in that of organization as well as in the field of social problems and of ideological, political, cultural and aesthetic education. Every day the news reaching us are more rejoicing, more encouraging, a thing which shows that the Dibra spark which was immediately followed by the working people of the whole country has turned into a big flame which is breaking old rules and concepts, deeply instilling in the minds and conscience of our men and women the revolutionary new, the method of mass action in our every day work.

This spark did not spring up inadvertently, nor did it turn into a flame by accident. The Party laid the ground for it year in year out by its revolutionary line. The spark blazed forth as a result of the accumulation in quantity and its dialectic passage

to quality.

Now it is clear to everybody that the mass actions aimed at a single target in every field of our activity is the most effective method to score success. The experience of the most recent times stressed the necessity for us to firmly grasp the method

of mass actions through concentrated blows.

The vivid and dynamic life of these days is confirming that the mass actions are being carried out in width and depth, that they are becoming a permanent method and style of our working masses to fulfil the plan targets of the year 1970, the last year of the 4th five-year plan ahead of schedule. With such a drive, an unprecedented enthusiasm at work, working by the method of mass actions through concentrated blows which is turning the winter season, too, into a season of intensive work and with such a wonderful people, ready for every battle and led with courage, wisdon and faithfulness by their glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, there is no bastion which we cannot conquer in our march forward.

The tasks envisaged in the State draft-plan and budget for 1970 as well as the work which has begun to put them into practice make us very optimistic and fill us with the unshaken confidence that our working masses will successfully accomplish the planned tasks of the last year of the current five-year plan

and reach the targets set by the 5th Party Congress.

On February 10, 1970, a solemn meeting was held in Tirana to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Trade Union Organization of Albania. Taking part at the meeting were Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party and State. Comrade Tonin Jakova, Secretary-General of the Trade Unions of Albania and Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, addressed the meeting.

Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA read the message of greetings of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania which we are publishing below:

Dear Comrades,

25 years ago, on February 11,1945, soon after the liberation of our Fatherland and the establishment of our People's Power, there was founded the glorious Trade Unions organization, the organization of the working class — the principal moving force of our people's revolution, the pillar of the new society which

emerged from this revolution.

Ever since it was born and began to grow, side by side with the development of capitalism in our country, our working class had made efforts to organize itself but, in the best of cases, these efforts resulted only in setting up a few local organizations of a mainly economic and relief character. Only after the birth of the Party and under its leadership during the War for National Liberation were the first Trade Unions organizations set up in various Albanian cities as underground oganizations, which eventually, soon after the liberation of the Fatherland, became the first syndicates of the manual and mental workers,

turning into political organizations of the working class, into schools of education, administration and of communism.

While we are gathered today to commemorize this significant event in the history of the working class and of our country as a whole — the 25th anniversary of the founding of the militant organization of the Trade Unions — allow me to transmit to the heroic working class of our country, to all the members of the Trade Unions of Albania the most ardent greetings of the Party Central Committee, of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and of all our people. A distinctive characteristic of our Trade Unions organizations is that they were set up by the Party of Labor of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, the representative of its best aspirations, that they have fought in the past and are fighting today to apply the Party's line, considering the leadership of the Party as a decisive factor of their strength and vitality. Another distinctive characteristic of our Trade Unions organizations is that they were established together with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the working class, as part and parcel of and irreplaceable link in the system of this dictatorship which they should protect and consolidate. These factors have made the Trade Unions organizations to occupy a place of honor in our society, where the working class — its backbone — gives the tone to the entire life of the country.

During these 25 years of its existence, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Trade Unions have been a powerful support of and have made a great contribution

to the cause of our socialist revolution.

Taking part in the struggle to smash the resistance of the overthrown classes, on one hand, and further deepening socialist democracy for the laboring masses, on the other, the Trade Unions have rendered a major contribution to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through its work and example the working class, always under Party leadership, mobilized the poor and middle peasantry and the patriotic intelligentsia for the construction of socialism. Mobilizing its inexhaustible energies for the great drive to reach the targets of the five-year plans, for the socialist industrialization of the country, the working class became not only a brilliant example to follow but also a powerful and indispensable factor in achieving the complete collectivisation of the rural areas. These brought about a vigorous development of the productive forces in our country, a rise of the living standarts and cultural level of the people, the unprecedented development of education,

5 - 26

the strengthening of the defensive power of the Fatherland. As a result of this major struggle launched by the working class and all the other laboring masses under Party leadership, the inimical activity of the internal and external, covert and overt enemies was smashed, the centuries-long backwardness was done away with and the blockades imposed on us by the imperialists and revisionists of all hues were broken. In these 25 years the heroism of the National-liberation War was renewed on a wider, larger and higher scale.

The growth and expansion alone of the working class during these 25 years speak clearly of the colossal step taken in the development and the progress of our country. On the eve of the formation of the Trade Unions there were about 25.000 laboring people in the country whereas today their number has risen to 400.000. They make up a real army, not only many times bigger, but also more united and organized, embued more deeply with our Party's ideology, tempered in revolutionary battles, capable of taking direct part in the management of all the life

of our country.

The Trade Unions organizations, too, underwent great changes during these 25 years. They were strengthened, enlarged and increased their activity hand in hand with the increase of the number and the uplift of the consciousness of their members. At every stage of the development of our country, the Trade Unions set up their work in compliance with the tasks that faced them. They directed their efforts, first of all, to tempering their members in our Party's world-outlook, in the norms of proletarian ethics. They fought, and made it possible, to draw ever more people to political and social activities so as to make the working class capable of having their say in solving any ideological, political, social and economic problem. They struggled for the organization and development of socialist emulation, for the application of the laws, rules and regulations of our State Power, for establishing favorable work and living conditions for the laboring people, for expanding the cultural and mass work among the laboring people to an ever greater extent.

But the socialist revolution is an uninterrupted revolution. It does not end with the seizure of political power and the construction of the economic basis of socialism; but it goes on with the complete building of socialist and, eventually, of communist society. Our Party has always abided by the principle that it is man that plays the decisive role in carrying out this historic mission. Therefore, the Party and its organs have

centered their attention mainly on people, on cleaning their minds from the «blots» inherited from the old society and on tempering them with our Party's materialist scientific world-outlook. Without having achieved this, first and foremost, we could not take today rapid steps forward. The experience of the countries where the revisionists have usurped power, the plight of the Soviet Union in particular, teaches us that our country can build the economic as well as the material and technical basis of socialism, but it is true just as well that the victories achieved both in the political and economic fields are not yet assured and, further more, may even be liquidated, if no battle is waged to bring about the triumph of the socialist ideology over the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and other ideologies, if the new man of the socialist and communist society is not formed, otherwise the Party and the State Power of the working class

are liable to degenerate and capitalism to be restored.

Precisely this danger our Party is struggling to avoid. In order that our progress towards the socialist and communist society may never stop, every laboring man is required to strive incessantly to raise his ideological and political level, to fight the old patriarchal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, mystic and religious and other backward concepts in himself or his friends. to combat the influence of disguised alien bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Now that the deepening of socialist consciousness under the present stage of the development of our revolution is a necessity for all the citizens of the People's Republic, for all the laboring people of our country, the communist education of the working class is an indispensability, because only in this way it will be able successfully to exercise its control on everybody and on everything in order to protect our society from every distortion, deviation and alien manifestation. The working class should be aware that it not only has the right to exercise this control, but it should be complete and continuous. It is here that the guarantee lies to always pursue the Party line, to prevent the degeneration of our socialist order, to safeguard and ever increase the victories of our revolution. the victories of our people.

The task of the Trade Unions in this direction is to improve the organization of the educational, ideological and political work with all their members, to organize and carry out a deeper and more differentiated work among the workers, to educate both adults and young people, not only those who have come from the countryside or live still there, but also those who are born and have grown up in cities, working people and, particularly, working women, fighting to strengthen workers' self-control; to extend this control to ideological, what is more important, to social problems, not confining themselves within the limits of a given enterprise, but extending it to other enterprises as well, to other work centers and villages. The exercising of a sound, direct control by the working class, combined with the control by Party and State organs, helps the working class keep firmly the dictatorship of the proletariat in its hands and

guarantees the application of the Party line.

Our country has already entered the last year of the 4th five-year period. The achievements scored so far are satisfactory and promise well for the successful realization of all the tasks the Vth Congress of our Party set forth in the economic, social and cultural fields. The working class of our country has special merits for having successfully carried out these tasks. It has not only striven to successfully fulfil its tasks in the production fronts, but has also given a great help to the cooperative peasantry to increase agricultural production. New and greater tasks are in store for us. Their fulfilment will lead us to other important victories, to a faster course in the complete construction of socialist society. Our Party teaches us that we should center our attention in this direction, at this problem which occupies an important place in the chain of other questions, As the 9th Plenum of the CC of PLA pointed out, at present, our march forward, the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism depends, to a considerable extent, on further progress in work productivity. This factor plays a decisive role in the increase of production, in intensifying our economy, in raising the living standards and cultural level of our people, in strengthening the defensive power of our Fatherland. Doing better work to apply the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha to study and carry out in the most correct way the objective laws of socialist economy, making the workers conscious of the tasks confronting them, we should achieve an unprecedented mobilization in order to reach planned targets, to mechanize processes of work, to reduce costs, by rigorously enforcing proletarian discipline at work, exploiting work time as effectively as possible, further reviewing and perfecting work quotas, as important factors to raise output.

Socialist emulation, as a communist method, has played a major role in mobilizing the workers of our country to accomplish their tasks. The rich experience gained in this field should be worked out and carried further ahead on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the present conditions

and requirements. Answering the call of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 9th plenum of the CC of the PLA, let us make 1970 the year of an unprecedented revolutionary drive in all directions, for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of all the tasks of the 4th five-year period. Let the achievements scored and the experience gained become a powerful boost to begin the coming five-year period successfully. Let the movement to win the title of «Shock brigade, Shock workshop, Shock entreprise of the five-year period», sponsored by many collectives of our country, be further enriched, deepened and propagated so as to embrace the greatest possible number of workers. Let the mass actions concentrated at one target, initiated by the heroic people of the Dibra district and spread all over the country, become a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class in order to enhance the revolutionary spirit, to do away with old concepts, methods and norms impeding our march forward. If we only keep this spirit alive and march on under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our working class will be, as it has been so far, a great example inspiring and teaching the other laboring masses, only in this way they will render, as they have always done, their fundamental contribution to the rapid construction of socialism and the defence of our socialist Homeland.

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our heroic working class, the vanguard class of the laboring masses of our country!

Long live the 25th anniversary of the Trade Unions of Albania!

FOIL THE CRIMINAL PLOTS AGAINST THE SOVEREINGTY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The cordial dialog which started towards the end of last year between the Soviet revisionists and the West-German militarists is now entering the stage of concrete bargainings, of defining the conditions and terms under which to reach a global agreement to suit their expansionist and imperialist aims. Included in the agenda was the conclusion of a Soviet-German treaty on the mutual renunciation of force», «of officially recognizing the Oder-Neisse boundary», of reaching a big long-term commercial agreement between Bonn and Moscow, of establishing diplomatic relations between revisionist countries and West Germany and so on and so forth.

All of this bilateral diplomatic activity which directly affects the German issue — one of the key problems inherited from World War II and closely bound with the destiny of Europe — has aroused the legitimate anxiety of the peoples of our continent. It is not difficult to see that we are now facing a situation in which a new monstruous revisionist-imperialist plot is in the offing. This plot is spearheaded not only against the sovereign states in Europe but also against the peoples all

over the world.

It is a fact that "Bonn's new eastern policy" and the radical shift in the stand of the present Soviet Government towards the German problem are intended to establish a new balance of power in the heart of Europe which would serve the consolidation of German militarism and the aggressive plans of Soviet imperialist revisionism. The Western press, which reflects the concern of the European ruling bourgeoisie, and the intensified efforts of the Soviet-U.S. alliance to exercise their dictate and establish their rule over the world, expressing the fear of a future strengthening of German militarism, have pointed out that the new raprochement of the Soviet revisionists with the Bonn militarists, their talks and future plans aim at, as the press has it, "balancing Europe anew."

What are they getting at, in fact? The Brezhnyev-Kosygin

clique, in agreement with U.S. imperialism, its counterpart, have long been trying to make their flanks secure in Europe, to preserve their spheres of influence in this area and to concentrate all the weight of their aggressive and expansionist strategy on the East. Their ill-famed initiatives for the so-called European security, their proposals to liquidate both the Warsaw and North Atlantic Pacts and to reduce the armed forces of the big powers in Europe and so on and so forth, serve also the same purpose.

But to apply this plan one has yet to solve the German problem, or, in plainner terms, to overcome the persistence of West Germany which is not predisposed to sell its friendship on the cheap. Furthermore, the higher the Soviet revisionists' internal and external difficulties, the more they direct the spear of their aggression to the East, the higher the price of their of collaboration with West Germany. It is precisely in this context that the Soviet revisionists took the interests of the German Democratic Republic for sale to the market of the imperialist wolves, that they are striking bargainings over its independence and sovereignty. It is precisely under these circumstances that the «new eastern policy» of Brandt came into being. Differing from the policy of Adenauer who sought to annex the Polish lands across the Oder-Neisse by means of force, the new West German policy aims at attaining the same goal by carrying the olive branch and the wad of D-marks, Adenauer, Kiesinger, Erhard and all the German Christian Democrats had pinned their hopes of revenge, of setting up Fuehrer's great Germany, on a conflict between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. They became the fiercest warmongers and spared no efforts to transform the Wehrmacht into the principal support of the North Atlantic Treaty and West Germany into the main center of aggression against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe. But it would be pointless and senseless to pursue such a strategy further under the new conditions when the U.S. imperialists have become the closes allies of the Soviet revisionists, when the U.S.-Soviet alliance has as its main aim, among other things, to consolidate the present status quo and to tighten the grip of each partner on its own sphere of influence. The German militarists could not confine themselves to the old methods at a time when their U.S. allies, having got assurances from the revisionists in Europe, started shifting their policy of imperialist aggression and expansion to Asia and Latin America.

Brandt and his eastern policy are the product of the changes

that have taken place in the policy of the Soviet Union and of the United States of America, of their global strategy for «peace in Europe and war in Asia». This sharp turn in the tactics of the German militarists could not have been taken by the Christian Democrats since they were tied to their outdated plans and exposed as adherants of a policy of force and ultrarevanchism. The German bourgeoisie brought to its head the Social Democrats who, being in the opposition, had not been so much publicly committed to the old "eastern policy" of Dulles and Adenauer. The change of horses in the Bonn Chancellery creates some conditions favoring the propaganda of the rulers of Moscow who try to justify their bargainings with West Germany. It is by no means accidental that Moscow advertizes the cabinet of Brandt as «realistic», «constructive», pretending that it allegedly meets the Soviet initiatives half way and in «good faith» as far as the German question and the European security are concerned.

Now the Soviet revisionists and others are not insisting that Bonn should recognize the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign, free and independent state. Gromyko continues to talk with Helmuth Allardt, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Moscow in a «businesslike atmosphere of mutual understanding» taking no notice whatsoever of the Polish of Bonn towards the German Democratic Republic. The Polish Prime Minister, Cyrankievich, on his part, declared on December 22 that the Polish Government was ready for discussions with the Federal Republic of Germany provided that it

recognized the Oder-Neisse boundary.

These unprincipled concessions by the Soviet and Polish revisionists at the expense of the German Democratic Republic are, no doubt, welcomed and reciprocated by the Bonn militarists. The Government of Brandt were delighted to give their approval to a big economic agreement between the Soviet Union and West Germany, whereby the two monopolist firms "Thiessen" and "Mannesmann" will supply the Soviet Union with 1,2 million tons of steel pipes to built a gas pipe-line which will feed the Federal Republic of Germany with 3 million cubic meters of Siberian natural gas in a year for twenty years in succession. Now rumors have been spreading about a substantial credit to be accorded to the revisionist clique of Gomulka and the other satellites of Moscow.

«In our eastern policy» Walter Scheel, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany declared on December 22, «we are in the process of initiatives bidding fair successes,

fairer than ever in our postwar history.» The fair chances Scheel speaks of are in fact the sinister intentions of the West German revanchists. The political, economic and cultural agreements opened new paths to the rulers of Bonn for an all-sided penetration into the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, creating for them favorable conditions to take the rear of the German Democratic Republic in order to eventually swallow it up.

It may seem paradoxical that the revisionist Soviet Union. which, on one hand, has become an aggressive imperialist state trying by all manner of means to expand its empire, strengthening its oppressive rule on the satellite countries and, on the other, does not hesitate to sacrifice the German Democratic Republic which is one of its advanced outposts in the west. In fact, there is nothing contradictory in this and we do not think the Soviet revisionists put it at auction at a low price. As everywhere else, in this case, too, there are acting the imperialist laws and logic of dividing and redividing the spheres of influence which are not necessary to be carried out by means of force alone but also by mutual territorial concessions and compensations and so on. By giving up the protection of the German Democratic Republic and by selling its supreme interests to the imperialists, the Soviet revisionists think, and it is another matter if their calculations are wrong, that by creating a great Germany as a friend of theirs, with a broad neutral zone equally distant from the two super powers, they would ensure the imperialist-revisionist plan of maintaining peace in Europe and stirring up conflicts in Asia and in other continents.

This objective, clearly mapped up already, is aimed at concluding the so-called «Treaty of mutual renunciation of the use of force» on which intensive talks are being held between Moscow and Bonn, or the official recognition of the Oder-Neisse boundary by West Germany. If it were otherwise, then, why does the Soviet Union demand a «separate assurance» from Federal Germany and not from NATO of which the latter is a member? Would that not serve the same purpose, let those in Moscow name it as they please, if, for instance, a renunciationof-force treaty were concluded between the North Atlantic and the Warsaw Pacts? Would this not commit their members to just as much? Why is not a treaty signed with both Germanys similar to that desired to be concluded between West Germany and Moscow? Can, perchance, the German Democratic Republic be defended by usurping its sovereign rights of deciding on its own future? Can, perchance, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as an independent and sovereign state be enforced by publicly approving Bonn's claim that the G.D.R. is not a sovereign state with all due attributes based on international law but only «a zone of occupation» which they should

take up their problems in Moscow?

Or, let us take the question of the recognition of the Oder-Neisse boundary over which the Soviet and Polish revisionists together with Brandt are recently making a great fuss about. The demand of the Polish people to have the boundaries of their state guaranteed, to get the Federal Republic of Germany to recognize and respect their western frontier is quite legitimate. But why is this claim made only for the Oder-Neisse boundary and not for the western boundaries of East Germany? Whom is this new Locarno agreement spearheaded against? What do the Soviet revisionists keep in store for the German Democratic Republic?

The Soviet demand to recognize the Oder-Neisse boundary together with a treaty to renounce the use of force between Bonn and Moscow without the participation of G.D.R., does not leave any room for doubt that the frontiers, the Soviet Union means to defend, do not begin from the Elba but from the Oder.

The revisionist chiefs of Moscow try to cover up their immediate and ultimate imperialist objectives by all sorts of demagogy. They seek to persuade people that they wish to have the German question settled by the Germans themselves. By means of this monstruous hoax they aim at killing two birds with one stone. On one hand they want to justify the fact that they have given up the intention of signing a peace treaty with Germany, that is, of recognizing de facto and de jure the realities created in Germany succeeding the downfall of Hitler and, on the other, to camouflage the opproprious sale of the supreme rights of the German Democratic Republic to the Bonn militarists.

But this foul play will be of no use at all to the renegade clique of Brezhnyev and Kosygin. There are few dupes in our time. The people of the German Democratic Republic cannot fail to see the conspiracies hatched up against them and cannot keep silent and inactive when the future of their country is being jeopardized. They can never acquiesce to have their Republic, the creation of which was a great victory for all the German people and an important historical event for all the peoples of Europe, sacrificed to the expansionist interests of the renegades who have usurped power in Moscow.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, of Poland, of the German Democratic Republic and of the other countries where the revisionists are in power should open their eyes and see themselves the plot which is being hatched up at the expense of the G.D.R. by the Brezhnyev-Kosygin clique and the Bonn militarists. This should be brought home to the other peoples of Europe. too. This plot revives the German militarist revanchism and serves to whet its claws. The struggle for the recognition of the G.D.R. as a sovereign state with full rights, first of all by the F.R.G. and by the other western countries is closely bound not only with the defence of the G.D.R. but also with the preservation of the interests of real security and peace in Europe, with the struggle against the aggressive plans of the Moscow imperialists, of the U.S. imperialists and of the revanchists of Bonn.

No one should be misled by the false imperialist-revisionist propaganda that the raprochement of Bonn and Moscow will ease tension in Europe and will remove the flames of war from our continent. History has proved more than once that whetting the appetite of the German revanchists has been catastrophic to Europe. Not less fatal has also been the attempt to push the aggressors towards the East in order to allegedly «rescue European civilization». The aggressors, be they American or revisionists, will not confine themselves to Asia alone. What is more, prior to undertaking aggressions against other countries they will first enslave Europe, depriving it of its freedom and independence and will smother the revolutionary efforts of the peoples for democracy and social progress. Therefore, at the present time, and especially in the conditions of raprochement and dangerous bargainings between the Soviet revisionists and the revanchists of Bonn, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, its recognition on the basis of international law as an independent and sovereign state, is the touch-stone for all the sound democratic forces, for all the peoples of Europe and of the world. The denouncement and frustration of the criminal plots which are being hatched up against the German Democratic Republic is a blow dealt to the imperialist-revisionist aggressive plans, to the war preparations made by the two imperialist big powers to hold the peoples of the world under their sway.

The Albanian people will protect, as they have always done, the sovereignty of the German Demogratic Republic with determination and from a principled stand, they will tirelessly support the struggle of the freedom loving German people against the perfidious conspiracies of the Soviet revisionist imperialists and their friends and allies, the West-German militarists and

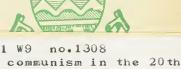
the U.S. imperialists.

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CONTENTS

COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COM OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF A	MITTTEE	3
DECISION TAKEN BY THE 9th PLE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE OF LABOR OF ALBANIA "ON THE W THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY THE MASSES AND OF THE ECONOM STATE ORGANS TO FURTHER INCREA	PARTY ORK OF AND OF MIC AND SE PRO-	
DUCTIVITY OF AND TO ENFORCE PRO IAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK.		4
ENVER HOXHA — ON WORK PRODUCTIVITY AND PROJECT IAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK		19
BEHAR SHTYLLA — EXCERPTS FROM A SPEECH DE AT A SOLEMN MEETING IN COMMEMO OF THE 90th ANNIVERSARY OF J.V. S BIRTHDAY	ORATION STALIN'S	31
LAW ON THE NEW SCHOOL SYSTEM		46
ABDYL KELLEZI — FROM THE REPORT ON THE REAL OF THE 1969 STATE PLAN AND BUDG THE TASKS OF THE STATE DRAFT-PI DRAFT-BUDGET SET FOR 1970	GET AND LAN AND	53
ADIL ÇARÇANI — READING THE GREETINGS OF TH THE PLA TO THE TRADE UNIONS BANIA	OF AL-	64
— FOIL THE CRIMINAL PLOTS AGAI SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GERMAN DEMINED REPUBLIC (Reproduced from the "Zëri	OCRATIC	
daily, dt. 11-1-1970)		70





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